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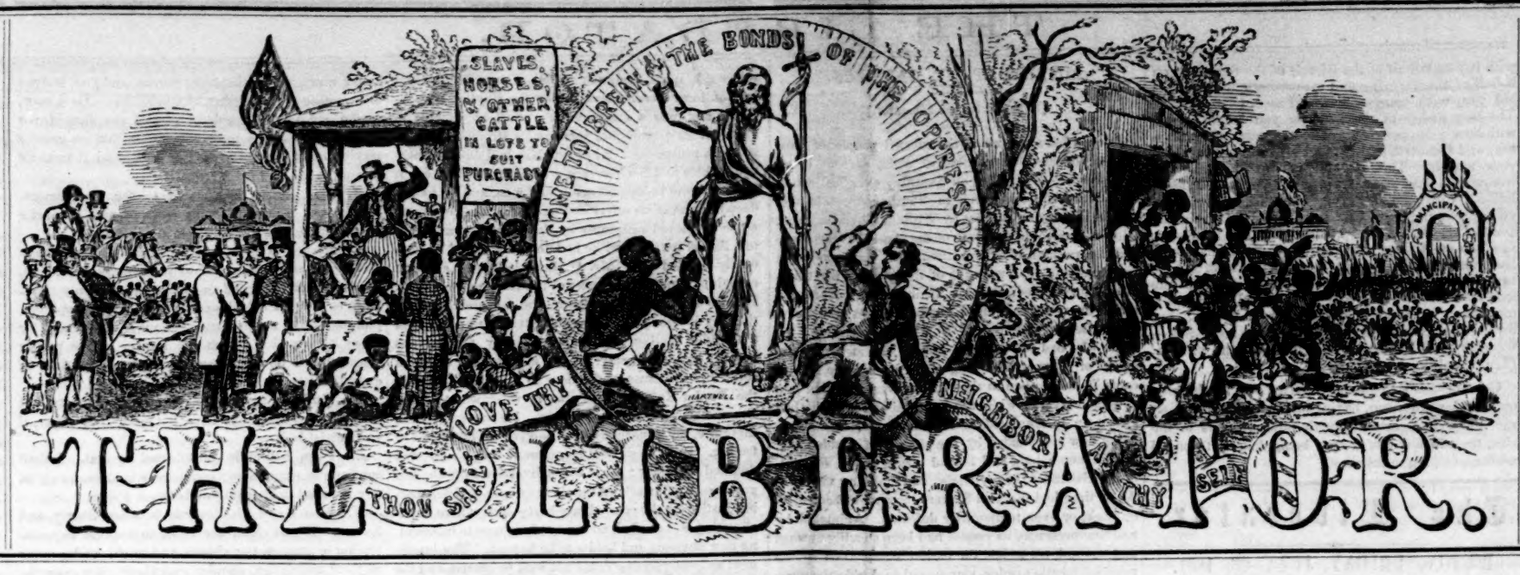

THE LIBERATOR.

The United States Constitution is "a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell."

☞ "What order of men under the most absolute of monarchies, or the most aristocratic of republics, was ever invested with such an odious and unjust privilege as that of the separate and exclusive representation of less than half a million owners of slaves, in the Hall of this House, in the chair of the Senate, and in the Presidential mansion? This investment of power in the owners of one species of property concentrated in the highest authorities of the nation, and disseminated through thirteen of the twenty-six States of the Union, constitutes a privileged order of men in the community, more adverse to the rights of all, and more pernicious to the interests of the whole, than any order of nobility ever known. To call government thus constituted a Democracy is to insult the understanding of mankind. . . . It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and of slavery. There is no name in the language of national jurisprudence that can define it—no model in the records of ancient history, or in the political theories of Aristotle, with which it can be likened. It was introduced into the Constitution of the United States by an equivocation—a representation of property under the name of persons. Little did the members of the Convention from the Free States imagine or foresee what a sacrifice to Moloch was hidden under the mask of this concession."—JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor. Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind. J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

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Refuge of Oppression.

PREMATURE EXULTATION.

The New York *Journal of Commerce*, in a malicious and characteristic article upon what it styles "Pseudo Reforms," after sneering at Fourierism, Spiritual Rappings, Peace Societies, &c., flippantly says:—

Then the *Non-Resistants*, the *Anti-Capital Punishment* men, and the *Higher Law* men, came forward, wrote, declaimed, raged, and disappeared. It was pronounced a sin to repel the highway robber, or wound or injure the assailant of one's life. Lo, the change! Now violence is a virtue, provided it is inflicted by non-resistants; and though once it was pronounced a crime to execute a convicted murderer, it is now no crime, in the judgment of the same individuals, to take the lives of those chargeable with no offence; while instead of abiding by the decisions of the "higher law," every one of these old "shriekers" against the penitentiary and the gallows claims to be "a law unto himself," and is ready to act accordingly. Alas! for poor human nature. Did it ever show itself so capricious, or its decisions so unworthy of respect? The present crisis has brought all these fooleries to the test, and, exposing their extravagance and absurdity, has annihilated the different flourishing Societies which made it their vocation to advocate and diffuse them.

We hear no more of *Woman's Rights* and *Woman's Rights Conventions*, since beyond a doubt if these women are *strong minded*, as they boast, they may be also *strong backed* and *strong limbed*, which they do not boast, and therefore be justly mustered into the army; or, if remaining at home, be required *manfully* to meet their share of the expenses of the war. But we hear no more of sister Mott's telling appeals on the equality of the sexes, and other sisters are equally silent.

Abolitionism is another illustration, and the saddest, of the impulsiveness and extravagance of the American mind; but even here there are symptoms of returning good sense, though it may come too late. As to the possible future of our country,—should the South succeed in maintaining its secession, and become a distinct nationality, obviously no advantage would accrue to the slaves, while if an adjustment of the difficulties should be made, and the Union remain inviolate, no one dreams that it can be effected by any thing less than an abiding by the old principles of the Constitution. In either contingency, therefore, it will be found that the anti-slavery agitation has accomplished nothing but evil, and that continually; and that all which can be done for good, is to be done by patiently following the order of events and the developments of Providence—attempting what is possible, and waiting for much that is desirable, while in every movement the only power to be used is that of light and love. The country needs not empirics, missionaries, demagogues and agitators, but men of comprehensive minds, cool judgment, and unselfish hearts. May Heaven give it such, in the place of mountebanks in the pulpit, and ranters in the conventicles, and partisans and demagogues in the halls of legislation, both State and national!

A SHAME.

One of the most disgraceful of the acts which have characterized the present Administration in its brief, but unexampled career, is the appointment of Jim Lane to a Brigadier Generalship, and "Captain" Montgomery to a Colonelcy in the army—two as deep dyed scoundrels as ever went unhung. The murders and robberies committed by those fellows during the troubles in Kansas are known to the whole country, and have linked their names in appropriate connection with the hoary villain but less fortunate John Brown. These men did all in their power to keep alive the bloody strife in Kansas, and are personally responsible for a large share of its atrocities. Lane murdered a Free State man named Jennings! He was arrested, but contrived to get clear by his influence over men as guilty as himself. His seat in the Senate was secured by corruption unexampled in the history of legislation—the votes of members being openly bought and sold on the floor of the House.

What adds to the enormity of the case, was the well authenticated fact that the money used for this purpose was stolen from the contributions sent out by charitable people at the East to relieve the sufferings of Kansas. Since the election of Pomeroy and Lane to the Senate, nothing has been heard of suffering in Kansas. Montgomery is a desperado of the most abandoned character, and has for years kept around him a band of lawless men, who made themselves the terror of the country round about. Their robberies and murders are fresh in the minds of the public. This band is still in active service, and the effect of giving a commission to Montgomery is to place them in the pay of government, and make the whole country responsible for their acts. These men proclaim that they are determined to "sustain the Union" and "protect the honor of the flag"! The elevation of men of such character to a par with the volunteers who have disinterestedly shouldered their muskets for the support of the government, in good faith, and with honorable purpose, is a burning disgrace to the country.—*New Haven Register*.

THE WAR AND ITS SUPPORTERS.

We stated the other day that there are persons—and they are pretty numerous—who support the war and the government solely because they believe, if the war continues, slavery will be abolished. But for that hope and belief, they would oppose both the war and the government. The papers that represent these persons are in great trepidation at present, for fear an adjustment of our national difficulties may be made, and that Peace may be installed where War now sits with bloody and frowning brow. How rejoiced should we be if assured that they have good cause for their alarm! They regard Mr. Crittenden as the wily Greek who is to be the bearer of the fatal gifts that will overthrow the Republican Troy; and in consequence of such belief, they are pitching into that gentleman right vigorously, in order to destroy his influence with Congress and the country. Before his election, some of them went so far as to hope that he would be defeated by his Secession opponent. Though a Union man, and who has done more than any other dozen men to keep Kentucky in the Union, yet these papers are sorry he was not defeated, so apprehensive are they he may do something that may bring the war to a close, and restore the ancient relations of kindness and social and business intercourse between the sections. They, therefore, undertake to warn the country and Congress against him. They do not want peace, for that would crush their hopes of the universal emancipation of the blacks. They prefer that the war should continue—that heavy burthens should be heaped upon the country to sustain it—that trade, commerce and business should remain stagnant and prostrate—rather than the present chance of liberating four millions of slaves should be lost. It is well enough that the country should understand the secret of these attempts to break down Mr. Crittenden before he goes to Washington.—*Cincinnati Enquirer*.

HURRAH FOR THE WAR!

Hurrah for the war! Let's make a little infamous history! Let's smash up things generally, and return civilization on its tracks a thousand years. Let's show the "rebels" and the rest of the world that we have a government, by tearing down the Constitution and setting up a military dictatorship, that shall have the property, liberty and life of the citizen at its exclusive disposal. Let's get all the preachers to quit preaching the gospel of peace, and go to ranting out devastation and slaughter, over all the land. Let's shut up all the churches; turn all the schools into recruiting stations; drive justice from her temples; knock off the wheels of trade; pluck out the wings of commerce; fill all our fields with weeds, and everywhere "cry havoc and let slip the dogs of war," and if an unawed citizen speak a word, or print an appeal, for peace, call him "traitor," "villain," "worm," and threaten to "riddle him with bullets," and "stretch his neck," and "pitch his office into the street." There, now, if that isn't a sufficient endorsement of this barbarous civil war, we want Mr. Wickizer to get appointed censor general of all the newspapers, and tell us what is.—*Bloomington (Ill.) Times*.

Selections.

LETTER FROM PETER SINCLAIR, ESQ.

[From the Manchester Examiner, July 2.]

JUNE 29, 1861.

SIR,—Having recently returned from an extensive tour through the United States of America, and had an opportunity of witnessing some of the preparations making for the conflict between freedom and slavery, I thought I could not, in justice to the friends of freedom in America, or to the friends of freedom in my own country, remain silent upon some matters which seem to be misunderstood on both sides of the Atlantic.

I read with very great satisfaction an article in a recent number of your excellent journal, which led me to think you might find space in your columns for the following remarks:—

The people of the free States do not wish the British government or people to interfere in the struggle between despotism and liberty—and therefore the position of strict neutrality is precisely the one thing they hope we will preserve.

But neither the British government nor the British people can be ignorant of the fact, that from the commencement of this rebellion, up to the present time, the South, and the pro-slavery press in the North, have declared that the government of Great Britain, and the great monied and manufacturing interests of this country, were favoring them; nay, had promised them material aid.

The same pro-slavery press led the South to expect that the free States could not hinder them from accomplishing a successful rebellion, because of the number of sympathisers with slavery in the free States; they boasted that they would not allow the North to coerce the South, and declared that if the North attempted by force to prevent the destruction of the Union, they would plant the Palmetto flag on Faneuil Hall. The free press of America has not at any time during my visit had a very free circulation in the slave States, and since the Harper's Ferry outbreak under John Brown, it has not been permitted to circulate at all, it may be said. The white people of the slave States see and read nothing but the pro-slavery papers that propagate these falsehoods.

The political leaders in the slave States have made these falsehoods the texts of their political harangues, and inflamed the imaginations and the passions of the people with prospects of speedily overwhelming the Black Republican Abolitionists (as they call them) of the free States. The Southern clergy have not been slow to make use of the same unworthy means of misleading their flocks. It is not, therefore, to be wondered at that the people of the slave States have believed a lie.

By way of exposing the dastardly means employed by the leaders of the slavery rebellion, the free press of the free States has quoted very largely from the Southern papers, thus giving currency to the many shameless falsehoods they have circulated; and, not always so careful as it might be, has overshot the mark, and accomplished more than it intended, so that very many of the free men of the free States have been brought to believe that there must be something in these statements, after all.

The freemen of the free States remember the time in Great Britain when the anti-slavery societies were active in holding great meetings of the people to denounce American slavery—when noble ladies lent their influence to induce the ladies of America to aid in the great work of securing for the poor down-trodden colored American his rights.

They saw more recently, with admiration, the enthusiasm with which the cause of oppressed Italy was espoused, and the generous moral aid Great Britain rendered the cause of liberty. While yet proclaiming her policy to be one of strict neutrality, need I say they expected some such manifestation of feeling on this occasion.

If commercial, political, constitutional, or family considerations have hitherto prevented a large number of freemen in every free State from going further than seeking the restriction of slavery within the area of the present slave States; if like considerations have hitherto led a still larger number to oppose the efforts of these men and others; surely, now, when wearied out with granting concessions, that lead only to fresh demands of concessions of the most outrageous character; now, when they have said no more concessions to slavery; now, when they have resolved to sacrifice their property, their party, their all, to obtain a final settlement of this question; now, when all party distinctions and differences are laid aside, and all these men are found standing side by side with the men who have for years been seeking to settle this question by the speediest and wisest, because only just, mode of settling it, *i. e.*, by restoring the bondman to liberty; now, when these faithful, long-tried friends of the enslaved American believe the hour is at hand when the doom of slavery shall be pronounced, and all freemen in America shall say "Amen and amen," shall the people of Great Britain hesitate—be silent—utter no encouraging word, or whisper it so feebly as to be unheard—hold no warmly sympathising meetings—pass no strongly congratulatory resolutions—proclaim no loud universal "God speed the right"—thunder out no bold freeman's cry, "Break every yoke, let the oppressed go free"?

In a few days Congress will assemble; the members may have become imbued with the sentiments of the freemen of the free States, and be prepared to carry out their views; but they were elected before this crisis had arisen. There is great fear in many quarters that some of them are not up to the mark; that they will pursue a procrastinating, temporising, compromising policy. Had the people the power to elect new members now, there would be no such fear. The Executive would be clothed with constitutional power to settle this question finally, and without delay. In these circumstances, the expression of the mind of the people of this country on this subject would have its influence in the speedy settlement of this question. Such an expression of opinion could not be misunderstood by our American cousins. Most sensitive as they are, under any and every expression of opinion by the people of this country on their affairs, they could not but see our only motive for uttering what they have always supposed were our sentiments, was the welfare of themselves, and their own great and glorious country—the purification and perfection of the fairest fabric of human liberty the world ever beheld.

I frankly confess there is great disappointment felt in the free States, at the course pursued in the British Houses of Parliament. Tongues usually eloquent in the defence of liberty have been silent, while this momentous question has been culminating in blood. So far as I can learn, the only reason assigned for this extraordinary course of proceeding is the peculiar position this country is placed in by the hostile tariff passed by the free States. I am myself a free-trader. I hold that the protectionists of America, of all classes, are wrong; that it is the protection of slavery that has brought about this crisis; and I cannot help thinking that the American people are too shrewd not to see this, and adopt a different course. But whether they do or not, that should not hinder the advancement of human liberty; and because we regard the protection of slave labor and the protection of free labor as one in principle, we should not be found favoring one wrong while opposed to the other.

Great Britain to-day may be in advance of all the nations of the earth, in the great principles and practice of commercial freedom; but it ought not to be forgotten that America is in advance of all other nations of the earth, on the questions of civil and religious liberty, (excepting in the slave States,) and that it is not at all likely, where these have been secured, the other can be long in being placed alongside of them.

The South used to trade with the North, and no business man wants to quarrel with his customers. The South formed family alliances with the North, and no man wants to be falling out with his relations. The South formed political parties with the North, and a few keen party men would hesitate to sacrifice principle to party. But now the scene is changed—the South refuses to pay its just debts to the North. The South ceases to purchase goods from the North. The South prohibits the Northmen from travelling South. Southern ladies and gentlemen of the "first families of Virginia" won't marry "the mudsills" of the North. The slaveholder is no longer a "Democrat"—he is a "Confederate."

"The Confederates" send their ambassadors to the government of Great Britain to say—We have cotton to sell; we'll sell it to you. You have goods to sell; we'll buy them of you. The North have made a tariff against you; we have made one in your favor—*come, let us trade!* We repudiate occasionally! but, oh, that's a small matter! We have a peculiar institution amongst us. You must say nothing about that; it would be unpleasant to us. Your fleet might be better employed than in interfering with one of the peculiar branches of our trade on the Southern coast; and it's expensive to you. Withdraw that fleet, and send it to open and protect our ports, and we will be the best of friends. Instead of sending our sons and daughters to Saratoga or Newport, we will send them to Brighton or Harrogate; instead of going a buffalo hunting, we will go a deer-stalking. Don't you see? Let's be a part of your family. Come, let's strike hands together; you don't get such an offer every day. Let us trade.

And John Bull stands by with his hands in his pockets, feeling for his conscience. Lord Palmerston looks knowingly at the cards, but won't play. Lord Derby has his eye upon a trick,—but, hold! the Confederate ambassadors are busy. Some patriot of the John Mitchell school is needed—can't he be found? The question of the recognition of the "Confederate Slave States" must be brought up. The great party of freedom are asleep; the political leaders are not ready to play.

We condemned the North because they made a god of the dollar, and regarded cotton as king; are we going to act the part we condemned? Can we draw a pen through the history of our country's struggles on behalf of suffering humanity, and rivet anew the fetters of the bondman, for the sake of trade? If we cannot, then let the senate chambers of the nation ring with the clarion tones of liberty, and let all the world know that free labor by free hands, and free commercial intercourse with all peoples and nations, is the motto of the British free-trader. What! in the same year that we welcome Italy, the last-born child of freedom, into the glorious family of emancipated peoples—shake hands with men who propound the monstrous doctrine "that free institutions are a failure, and that the only true principle of modern civilization is the subjugation of an inferior race to a superior one," and that by the horrid system of American slavery—a system more revolting than ever disgraced the darkest places of the earth which are still the habitations of horrid cruelty—strike hands with slaveholders, whose daggers are reeking with the warm blood of the freemen of the North, who have left all to defend the cause of human liberty! Surely, such a humiliation as this is not in reserve for us or our children.

Would that the good nature of John Bull could not be so shamefully imposed upon; that he had the courtesy, as well as the courage, to give the Confederate ambassadors notice to quit in something less than twenty-four hours! But John can't do these things,—he is not used to it; the Confederates are. There is danger in coquetting with traitors; the very men now in London, and the men whom they represent, have been the prime movers in endeavoring to stir up strife between Great Britain and America in days gone by. They are doing it now through the medium of a pro-slavery press; and while they are here offering to sell their country for thirty pieces of silver, they will betray us with a kiss.

I appeal to the people; I appeal to the true men in both Houses of Parliament, to speak out plainly. Let our neutrality be clearly and distinctly and inviolably observed; but let all the moral weight of a great, free, and deeply sympathizing nation be cast on the side of liberty, and let all the world know that such is the fact. Let it be placed on record, that present and future generations may see that in a struggle between despotism and liberty, Great Britain can only be found on one side, and that the side of liberty.

PETER SINCLAIR.

THE WAR IN ITS RELATION TO SLAVERY.

A LETTER FROM HON. JOSHUA R. GIDDINGS.

To the Editor of the New York Tribune:

SIR,—Our country is opening up a new page in the history of governments. The world has never witnessed such a spontaneous uprising of any people in support of free institutions as that now exhibited by the citizens of our Northern States.

I observe that the vexed question of slavery still has to be met, both in the Cabinet and in the field. It has been met by former Presidents, by former Cabinets, and by former military officers. They have established a train of precedents that may be well followed at this day. I write now for the purpose of inviting attention to those principles of international law which are regarded by publicists and jurists as proper guides in the exercise of that despotic and almost unlimited authority called the "war power." A synopsis of these doctrines was given by Major General Gaines, at New Orleans, in 1838.

General Jessup had captured many fugitive slaves and Indians in Florida, and had ordered them to be sent west of the Mississippi. At New Orleans they were claimed by the owners, under legal process; but Gen. Gaines, commanding that military district, refused to deliver them to the sheriff, and appeared in court, stating his own defence.

He declared that these people (men, women, and children), were captured in war, and held as prisoners of war. That as commander of that military department or district, he held them subject only to the order of the National Executive: that he could recognize no other power in time of war, or by the laws of war, as authorized to take prisoners from his possession.

He asserted that, in time of war, all slaves were belligerents as much as their masters. The slave must, said he, cultivate the earth and supply provisions. The women cook the food, nurse the wounded and sick, and contribute to the maintenance of the war, often more than the same number of males. The slave children equally contribute whatever they are able to the support of the war. Indeed, he well supported General Butler's declaration, that slaves are contraband of war.

The military officer, said he, can enter into no judicial examination of the claim of one man to the bone and muscle of another as property. Nor could he, as a military officer, know what the laws of Florida were while engaged in maintaining the Federal Government by force of arms. In such case, he could only be guided by the laws of war; and whatever may be the laws of any State, they must yield to the safety of the Federal Government. This defence of General Gaines may be found in House Document No. 225, of the Second Session of the 25th Congress. He sent the slaves West, where they became free.

Louis, the slave of a man named Pacheco, betrayed Major Dade's battalion, in 1836, and when he had witnessed their massacre, he joined the enemy. Two years subsequently he was captured. Pacheco claimed him; General Jessup said if he had time, he would try him before a court-martial and hang him, but would not deliver him to any man. He however sent him West, and the fugitive slave became a free man, and is now fighting the Texans. General Jessup reported his action to the war department, and Mr. Van Buren, then President, with his Cabinet, approved it. Pacheco then appealed to Congress, asking that body to pay him for the loss of his slave; and Mr. Greeley will recollect, that he and myself, and a majority of the House of Representatives voted against the bill, which was rejected. All concurred in the opinion that General Jessup did right in emancipating the slave, instead of returning him to his master.

In 1838 General Taylor captured a number of negroes said to be fugitive slaves. Citizens of Florida learning what had been done, immediately gathered around his camp, intending to secure the slaves who had escaped from them. General Taylor told them that he had no prisoners but "prisoners of war." The claimants then desired to look at them in order to determine whether he was holding their slaves as prisoners. The veteran warrior replied that no man should examine his prisoners for such a purpose; and he ordered them to depart. This action being reported to the War Department, was approved by the Executive. The slaves, however, were sent West, and set free.

In 1836 General Jessup wanted guides and men to act as spies. He therefore engaged several fugitive slaves to act as such, agreeing to secure the freedom of themselves and families if they served the Government faithfully. They agreed to do so, fulfilled their agreement, were sent West and set free. Mr. Van Buran's Administration approved the contract, and Mr. Tyler's Administration approved the manner in which General Jessup fulfilled it by setting the slaves free.

In December, 1814, General Jackson impressed a large number of slaves at and near New Orleans, and kept them at work erecting defences, behind which his troops won such glory on the 8th of January, 1815. The masters remonstrated. Jackson disregarded their remonstrances, and kept the slaves at work until many of them were killed by the enemy's shots; yet his action was approved by Mr. Madison and Cabinet, and by Congress, which has ever refused to pay the masters for their losses.

But in all these cases, the masters were professedly friends of the Government; and yet our Presidents and Cabinets and Generals have not hesitated to emancipate their slaves whenever in time of war it was supposed to be for the interest of the country to do so. This was done in the exercise of the "war power" to which Mr. Adams referred in Congress, and for which he had the most abundant authority. But I think no records of this nation, nor of any other nation, will show an instance in which a fugitive slave has been sent back to a master who was in rebellion against the very Government who held his slave as captive.

From these precedents I deduce the following doctrines:—

1. That slaves belonging to an enemy are now, and have ever been regarded as belligerents; may be lawfully captured and set free, sent out of the State, or otherwise disposed of at the will of the Executive.

2. That as slaves enable an enemy to continue and carry on the war now waged against our Government, it becomes the duty of all officers and loyal citizens to use every proper means to induce the slaves to leave their masters, and cease lending aid and comfort to the rebels.

3. That in all cases it becomes the duty of the Executive, and of all Executive officers and loyal citizens, to aid, assist, and encourage those slaves who have escaped from rebel masters to continue their flight and maintain their liberty.

4. That to send back a fugitive slave to a rebel master, would be lending aid and assistance to the rebellion. That those who arrest and send back such fugitives identify themselves with the enemies of our Government, and should be indicted as traitors.

Montreal, June 6, 1861. J. R. GIDDINGS.

SCENES IN THE CAMPS.

A Runaway Negro Pursued into the Garrison by Hounds in Human Form, and Shot—Arrest of the Parties by the Guard—the Mayor and Postmaster of Annapolis want the "Nigger."

HEADQUARTERS 6TH REG. N. Y. S. T.,
ANNAPOLIS, July 13, 1861.

About 12 o'clock on Thursday night, considerable excitement was caused throughout the garrison by the repeated discharge of firearms, and the shouts of the sentinels, posted at the railroad gate, for the corporal of the guard. Many of the soldiers, awakened from sound sleep, seized their arms, and rushed from their quarters in anticipation of the "long roll." In a little time, quiet was restored, and upon examination, it appeared that the trouble was caused by two vagabondish looking fellows "running the guard" in pursuit of a fugitive slave. The two white men and the negro were accommodated with quarters in the guard house until the following morning, when Col. Joseph C. Pinckney, commanding the post, summoned them before him for examination. One of the men, a recognized "hound," or "nigger-hunter," named McCabe, about twenty-two years of age—a fellow of most brutish countenance—stated that on Wednesday morning, while across the river Severn picking cherries, a negro approached him. He asked him where he was going, and to whom he belonged, to which the negro replied what he (McCabe) knew to be false. They walked together toward a piece of woods, when McCabe, drawing a revolver, turned suddenly upon the negro, and pointing the weapon at his head, said, "You are a runaway, and must go with me." The negro instantly grappled with him, when McCabe discharged the piece at his breast. The ball glanced, and tore the skin and flesh from the negro's breast, almost to the ribs, but happily did not enter his body. The scuffle resulted in the negro obtaining possession of the revolver, when McCabe, fearing for his life, took to his heels. McCabe said that he made his way to Annapolis, and while walking the streets in the evening, again met the negro. Procuring another revolver, and the service of one of the policemen of Annapolis, he again set out to capture the negro. After a long chase, the fugitive, to escape his pursuers, jumped into the river, and swam around the wall into the garrison. McCabe and the officer—a mere boy—ran to the railroad gate, where they were challenged by the sentinel. Both rushed past him, when he fired at them, and reloading, fired a second time, but without effect, it being impossible to aim correctly, as the night was dark.

The guard soon came up, and arrested them all. As far as the pursuit of the negro in the city was concerned, the statement of McCabe was corroborated by the policemen.

While this examination was progressing, John T. Magruder, the Mayor of the city of Annapolis, came in and suggested to the Colonel that the "nigger" had better be sent to jail. He said that the laws of the State authorized any man to arrest or shoot down runaway "niggers."

The fugitive, who gave his name as "Nick," was asked what he had to say, when he remarked that he belonged to Mr. Allison, and had run away to save his life. He said that about a fortnight ago, the hands were engaged cradling, when his cradle got out of order; that he stopped to fix it, when his master—a young man about twenty years of age—commenced "jawing" him, and finally struck him over the head with a stick. Enraged by so unprovoked an attack, Nick made some reply, when Allison said, "I'll blow your G—d d—d brains out," and made off to the house for his revolver. Nick, fearing for his life, fled to the woods, and had been absent two weeks when he encountered McCabe. He said that he had rather be sold away down South, than go back to his master.

The parties were hereupon called upon to subscribe to the evidence they had given, when McCabe and the policeman said they could not write. Nick, however, stepped to the desk, and wrote his name in a bold hand.

At the solicitation of the Mayor, the Colonel allowed McCabe and the policeman their liberty, although feeling much disposed to punish them more severely than a night's confinement in the guard-house, for passing the sentinel.

Nick was sent to the hospital, where Assistant-Surgeon Vondersmith dressed his wound, and gave him such other attention as his case required.

During the afternoon, Mr. Ireland, the postmaster of Annapolis, came to the garrison, and whiningly told Col. Pinckney that he knew the slave's "marster"—that he was a right smart young fellow, and that Nick was his head "nigger," and that he wouldn't take $1,500 for him; and concluded by asking the Colonel if he couldn't be allowed to take Nick to his house, where he would keep him and care for him until he (Mr. Ireland) could write to his "marster." Col. Pinckney declined, and thus the matter rested, until Friday morning, when Mr. Ireland again came to the garrison, and said the slave's "marster" had come, and wanted an interview with the Colonel. The latter replied that the man was dangerously wounded, and was in the hospital, where he would be kept for the present. Soon after, Col. Pinckney left the garrison for the Baltimore steamboat, but had scarcely set foot on board before he was accosted by the Mayor and the owner of Nick, the former being exceedingly excited and anxious about the matter. The owner said angrily: "I want my nigger," to which Col. Pinckney coolly replied: "The man is badly wounded, and I have sent him to the hospital where he will be well treated."

Owner. But I want you to give him to me. I'll send him to the jail, and have him attended to there.

Col. P. The disturbance in regard to this man occurred in the garrison, and I intend investigating it further.

Mayor (supplicatingly.) I think, Colonel, the nigger would be safer in jail.

Col. P. O, he's safe enough. I shall keep him in the hospital for a while.

The owner was about giving vent to some vile language, when the Mayor led him away. Thus the matter rests.—*Cor. N. Y. Tribune.*

FALLS CHURCH, (Va.) July 16, 1861.

Just at dusk, the Ohio pickets brought in a fine negro boy, Sam Allston, servant to one of the scions of chivalry from the Palmetto State. As he came up the lawn to headquarters, the most noticeable thing—one which attracted universal attention and elicited general laughter—was his boots, which were the sorriest specimen of old leather I ever witnessed on human feet, reminding one of the old shoes which the Gibeonites wore when they cheated the Children of Israel. Sam came up timidly, rolling the whites of his eyes over all the group with a searching intelligence, as if to read his destiny. He wore a slouched hat, a checked shirt, and carried a silver bull's eye watch. He stated that he was direct from Fairfax Court House, and as information from that locality was especially desirable, he was subjected to an examination which would have tested the endurance of an expert upon the witness stand. In his own broken answers, he gave replies as follows:—

"Born in Souf Caraline; massa Allston's nigger—Sam; cook for massa; got pass to go out and buy chickens, and come right straight down, sir. Massa got one hundred and fifty head of niggers down in Columbia district. Don't want to go back, sir; would n't go back no how, if I could help it, sir; rather go thousand miles up North, than down Souf again, sir; knock me about down there; whipped me for talking with the niggers last week about the war; don't like to have us talk together, sir; say they will whip the Yankees; they is kinder waiting to have you come; they have been packing up their trunks to-day; reckon they are going to move toward Manassas; right smart chance of 'em, sir; reckon they has ten regiments; Gen. Bonham in command; Souf Carolinians kinder mad at the Yankees; think they are going to whip ye easy."

A minute questioning verified previous information of position of troops, batteries, and places where trees have been felled. He frequently recurred to the subject of being sent back. It was uppermost in his thoughts. He had no father, and his mother had been sold. There was no tie to bind him anywhere. Only in his soul was that unquenchable fire, that love of liberty which makes a man. There was something exceedingly touching in his tone and manner when he said, "O massa, I'd ever so much rather go way over yonder, anywhere, than to be sent down Souf again." He did not know where "yonder" was, but it was his ideal of a place where he would find that which his soul most longed for—freedom. The Ohio boys who had brought him in, requested that he might be their cook; and when told to go with them, and be a good boy, and he should be treated well, his pleasure was manifest in every line of his intelligent face.

The information gathered from him was valuable, because it was corroborative of that received from other sources. One thing was heard with regret—that the rebels were evidently getting ready to run; that they were packing their trunks, and sending heavy baggage to Fairfax Station.

REFUGEES.

Yesterday, a large number of refugees came into camp, forced to accept the alternative of being compelled to serve in the Confederate army, or fleeing to the Federal protection. They have tales of horror, which will stir the blood of every true patriot. Among the number is a gentleman by the name of Hall, who years ago came from Western New York, and settled near Fairfax. Last spring he was a Union man, and raised the stars and stripes. When the Ohio troops made the disastrous advance upon Vienna, some one notified them of the battery in ambush, and rumor said he was the man. He was arrested, his hands and arms tied, and was taken to Fairfax. Several charges were made against him: that he gave the notice, raised a Lincoln flag, gave provisions to the Ohio troops when they carried off their wounded. He was told that he had but two two hours to live, and he had better say his prayers. At the expiration of one hour, he was informed that he had but sixty minutes of life. A blood-thirsty set of South Carolinians gathered round him as he lay on the ground, hands and feet tied, swearing and using the most horrible oaths, levelling their guns at him, saying that in so many minutes they would riddle him with bullets, and chop him into mince meat. At the expiration of the hour, an officer told him he was reprieved tilll morning. The South Carolinians stood outside the tent greatly enraged. He heard them lay a plot to shoot him as soon as it was dark, through the walls of the tent, but he was spared such a death. He was kept sixty hours without food thus confined. He was closely guarded. He was refused a trial. After twelve days' durance, by aid of a friend he obtained release.

No language can convey the devilish malignity of the South Carolinians against all Northern men. The vocabulary of the bottomless pit only will serve them when speaking of a Northern born man. They have also a poor opinion of the prowess of Virginians. Mr. Hall overheard Col. Gregg remark to a brother officer, that "the d——l Virginians could n't be trusted; they hadn't any fight in them"—a remark which, now that we give it publicity, we hope will be duly appreciated by the chivalry of the Old Dominion. The hot fire-eaters of the South fear the Yankees, as is manifested by their malignant hate, but they despise the Virginians.

It would require several columns of the *Journal* to narrate the experience of Mr. Hall, who, in common with others now under the protection of the stars and stripes, were notified yesterday to appear at Fairfax on Wednesday with such arms as they had, clothed for six months, and three days' rations. As soon as the sergeant was gone, Mr. Hall took a short cut through the woods, and is ready to report at Fairfax. He will be there at daybreak, armed and equipped, ready to report himself to any commanding officer or private who may be there.

Your readers, sitting by their peaceful firesides, unrestrained, following their avocations at will, can have no adequate idea of the terrible despotism which these ruffians exercise. They are lost to all sense of honor. They have become barbarians in their mode of warfare. There is one Frank Williams, an excellent marksman, with a long range rifle, with seven marks on it, the tally of the number of Federal pickets he has picked off on dark nights. He crawls stealthily upon the sentinel standing at his post, fires, and then takes to his heels like the coward he is.—*Cor. Boston Journal.*

The 1st and 3d Connecticuts are only a short distance from the Maine, all fronting on the Leesburg turnpike; and a mile below towards, Alexandria, and on the opposite side of the road are the camps of Sherman's battery and the 2d Connecticut, so that these few regiments are nearly in a line. We called at the camp of the 2d Connecticut, and were politely shown round by Adjutant Bacon, who had just returned from a scouting expedition, mounted on a splendid horse taken from the rebel cavalry. In this camp they have some twenty slaves, which have come in from time to time, and they now act as servants, and seem very happy and contented.

We saw the *colored* part of Col. Mason's family,—brother of the late U. S. Senator, now expelled,—which was captured a few days ago, just as they had got all packed up, and on the point of starting farther South, under charge of the overseer. I think there were nine of them, three women, one man, and the rest children, beside the overseer. I asked one of the women, who was nursing a child three months old, and had three children older in camp, where her husband was. She honestly answered, "I'se never married." I must confess my *puritanical notions* received a *severe shock*.

A few hours before our arrival, a *contraband* had come into camp, direct from Fairfax Court House, he having obtained a *pass* from "his Cap'n" to go out and buy some butter, and by that means got beyond the rebel lines. He told me he was cook for an Alabama regiment, and had been with them

since the 13th of April. They first went to Pensacola, and had stopped along at Montgomery, Richmond, Manassas, and were now encamped a mile the other side of Fairfax Court House. He said they had six regiments there, and a few pieces of artillery, but some of them were going away. This man had been severely flogged, last Sunday, for some trifling offence, and showed me his back, which presented a horrid sight, being cut every inch *from his hips to his neck*, and was still, in some places, *raw and bleeding*. I turned away, sick at heart to think that such atrocities were permitted in a FREE AND CHRISTIAN LAND. This man was intelligent.—*Washington cor. of Boston Traveller.*

A friend of mine, just from Fortress Monroe, Hampton, Newport News and vicinity, tells me that he has had a great experience, particularly as to the colored brethren. He spent a great deal of time conversing with them, having gone over the matter with at least fifty of them. They utter but one sentiment; they want to be free, and they say the same feeling pervades their brethren throughout Virginia. He tried in every case to get the current of their minds, before letting them know his own opinions, saying, "I suppose you are sorry your masters had to leave; that you prefer to be slaves." Their denial of this was very earnest and indignant. He would say to them, "Your masters say you are lazy, and will not work without a master;" they resented the imputation with great energy and feeling. The more he saw of them, the better he liked them, and he spent hours with them. At Camp Greble, Hampton, sixty of them, were at work in the trenches and doing noble service, and doing it willingly, under charge of Edward L. Pierce, Esq., a Boston lawyer, who went out as a private in the New Bedford company. They are made to take the oath of allegiance, and are told they will be treated as white men are treated, and the promise is carried out, for one of Brigadier-General Pierce's staff interfered the other day to keep one of them from being flogged. They are entered in the order book, not as slaves, but as colored men, and various things of this sort not according to Virginia ideas have happened.—*Boston cor. of N. Y. Tribune.*

ADDRESS OF HON. EDWARD EVERETT.

At the presentation of a handsome, rich white silk Standard to the Regiment commanded by Col. Fletcher Webster, (son of the late Hon. Daniel Webster,) in Boston, on the 18th inst., the Hon. Edward Everett made the following address:—

Colonel Webster—Our friend, Mr. Dehon, to whom the pleasing duty of this day had been assigned, having been compelled, by a domestic bereavement, to forego its performance, it has, by his particular request, devolved upon me. I regret, in common with you all, that this duty could not be discharged by one who has watched the formation and progress of your corps with such friendly solicitude from its first organization to the present hour. On his behalf I beg to assure you that this interest and that of the other friends of the regiment will remain undiminished after your departure; will follow you to the field of duty; and that duty strenuously, bravely performed, as I know it will be, will delight to welcome you home. (Applause.)

I need not tell you that no ordinary degree of public expectation goes with you to the seat of war. Competent judges have pronounced most favorably of the material of which your regiment is composed; of the spirit of discipline which pervades the ranks; of the patriotic zeal which animates your brother officers; of the manly sense of responsibility evinced by yourself. I have been informed, especially from Colonel Fessenden, who has taken so active an interest in the regiment, that its condition—officers and men—is in all respects highly satisfactory, and such as cannot fail to do credit to the service. As far as we can judge from its appearance at this time, these favorable representations are fully merited. (Cheers.) We sympathize with you, sir; we know that no ordinary devotion of time and labor will be needed, on your part, to fulfill the hopes of your friends, and the demands of the public; but let the shadow of that great name which you bear—*magni nominis umbra*—be, under Divine Providence, like the pillar of cloud which guided the chosen people, and lead and cheer you in the arduous pathway of duty. (Loud applause.)

You are entering, Sir, with your patriotic associates, upon an untried field of duty; but you are descended from a stock, which, in more than one generation, teaches lessons of loyal devotion. Your grandfather, Captain Ebenezer Webster, a grave and thoughtful man, was one of those brave frontier rangers, who bore the brunt of the seven years' war, in the wilderness which separated our then feeble settlements from Canada; and he stood with Stark at Bennington. (Cheers.) Your noble father, in defence of the menaced Constitution of the country, led those mighty conflicts of the Senate, not less arduous, not less decisive, than the conflicts of the field. (Applause.) Your only brother, following the impulse of a generous ambition, left his young life on the sickly plains of Mexico. On the family record that bears these sacred memories, nothing less worthy than duty faithfully performed, danger bravely met, and the country heroically served, will ever, I am confident, be inscribed in connection with your name. (Loud cheers.)

It is with no ordinary feelings of satisfaction that, on behalf of the patriotic ladies who take a friendly interest in the regiment, I now present you with this beautiful banner, well assured that you and all in your command will regard it with grateful interest, as a token of their kind wishes, and a pledge of their sympathy; and that you will look upon it with patriotic reverence as the symbol of the Union; the emblem of the cause you defend, of the country you serve. It bears upon its field, as a motto from the immortal speech of you father, the soul-stirring words, "Not a stripe erased or polluted—not a star obscured." (Loud applause.) It is to maintain their bright significance that the contest in which you are embarking is waged. Those emblems of our Union, I need not tell you, were first displayed in the camp of Washington on yonder opposite shore, on the first of January, 1776. They have been borne by the armies of United America against a foreign enemy on hard fought fields, from the snows of Canada to the burning plains of Mexico. With our navies they have circled the globe. They are now displayed in defence of the Union itself, in this most unrighteous and fratricidal war, and, like that holy symbol, which the first Christian Emperor saw in the heavens, they shall marshal its loyal defenders to victory. (Cheers.)

Your noble father, sir, with prophetic forethought, uttered those solemn words, "There can be no such thing as peaceful secession." (Applause.) Your country calls you to discharge your part in the duty, imperative as it is sad, which that principle devolves on all good citizens, each in his appropriate sphere. You would gladly have avoided,—we would all gladly have avoided,—the stern necessity, which it laid upon us. We spoke the words of conciliation and peace, till they inspired nothing but contempt, and invited ever new exaction on the part of our brethren to whom they were addressed, and it was not till they themselves had cried "Havoc, and let slip the dogs of war," that the outraged spirit of a loyal people was aroused to a hardy resistance. (Applause.) Not upon us is the dread responsibility of the unnatural conflict. (A voice—"That's so!")

Go then, sir, my young friends all, to the field of Honor and Duty. Place yourselves cheerfully, zealously, wherever the orders of your noble leader,—our matchless Commander-in-Chief,—shall summon you. (Cheers.) Deem yourselves above all things fortunate, that you are to serve under the supreme command of a chieftain, as wise and prudent as he is skillful and brave; (cheers,) who has the fortitude to resist the ardor with which an impatient country is pressing for the bloody arbitrament of battle, and who deems it the greatest of victories to spare the lives of his own gallant men. Honored alone of all our meritorious officers, with the title and rank conferred but once before, and then on the Father of his Country, Lieutenant General Scott remembers how Washington lay seemingly inactive for nine long months within the lines (of which on yonder heights you still see the remains) which encircled Boston, from which he allowed the enemy at last to depart without the loss of a man. He remembers that the campaign of 1779 and 1780 passed without a blow struck by the force under General Washington, and that after the power of the enemy was broken, and the war virtually ended by the fall of Cornwallis in 1781, still for two years it was allowed to linger, and the hostile army remained undisturbed in his stronghold at New York. General Scott remembers this, and he knows that it was precisely these Fabian delays,—this courageous deliberation,—by which alone the revolution could have been conducted to a triumphant issue.

And now, sir, (taking the banner and advancing with it,) on behalf of the friends of the regiment, on behalf of this favoring and sympathetic multitude, I bid you, with your officers and men, GOD SPEED! The best wishes of those whom you leave behind will bear you company. The memories of Lexington, and Concord, and Bunker Hill will hover round your march. The example of the Massachusetts troops who have preceded you will kindle your emulation. Let the fair banner which I now confide to you (presenting it to Col. Webster) be seen in the front of the battle. (Applause.) When it returns, in God's good time, with your regiment, it may come back torn and faded; but it will not, it shall not return disgraced. Dust and blood may stain it,—the iron hail of battle may mar its beautiful blazonry, it may hang in honorable tatters from its staff, but loyalty and patriotism shall cling to the last shred,—treachery shall blast it NEVER, NEVER, NEVER! (Long continued applause.)

Col. Webster's Regiment departed for Washington on Tuesday afternoon, having arrived from Fort Warren, and were escorted through various streets of the city, the whole line of march being densely thronged with applauding multitudes.

The Liberator.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, JULY 26, 1861.

FIRST OF AUGUST CELEBRATION.

Again the Anniversary draws near of one of the most beneficent and memorable events in the history of the world,—ancient or modern,—the Peaceful Emancipation of 800,000 Slaves, the beginning of a great Act of Justice and Humanity, whose wisdom has at length compelled the acknowledgment of the world at large, even of the unwilling and prejudiced. The Emancipation of the Slaves in the British West India Islands, on the 1st of August, 1834, ranks now in history as an event not less remarkable for its cheering results than for the benevolent and humane motives which inspired it.

The Managers of the MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY invite the friends of freedom everywhere, all who are interested in the great events of human progress, and all who desire to see the barbarous, inhuman, and unchristian Slavery of our own land give place to the reign of Freedom, Justice, and Peace throughout our borders, and throughout the world, to meet with them, at the well-known and beautiful grove in ABINGTON, on THURSDAY, August 1st, 1861, in commemoration of the Day.

Let all join to make this FESTIVAL OF FREEDOM worthy of the occasion, of the long line of effective meetings which have preceded it in honor of this event, and of the mighty object in behalf of which it is held,—the cleansing of our own land from the curse of Human Slavery.

WENDELL PHILLIPS, WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDMUND QUINCY, PARKER PILLSBURY, Hon. N. H. WHITING, H. C. WRIGHT, Rev. M. D. CONWAY, of Cincinnati, Rev. SAMUEL J. MAY, of Syracuse, Dr. JOHN S. ROCK, E. H. HEYWOOD, and other speakers are expected.

☞ The public are cordially invited.

☞ An Excursion Train, on the Old Colony Railroad, will leave Boston at 9 1-4, and Plymouth at 9.20, A. M., stopping at the usual way stations. Returning, leave the Grove at 5 1-4, P. M.

FARE AS FOLLOWS:

Boston, Savin Hill, Dorchester, Port Norfolk and Quincy, to the Grove and back, for adults, 50 cents; children, 25 cents.

Plymouth and the way stations not already mentioned, to the Grove and back, half the usual rate. Excursion Tickets good on other trains.

☞ In case of rain, the meeting will be held in the TOWN HALL, contiguous to the Grove.

W. L. GARRISON,
E. H. HEYWOOD,
THOS. J. HUNT,
ELIAS RICHARDS,
ELBRIDGE SPRAGUE,
Committee of Arrangements.

THE GOVERNMENT FORCES DEFEATED!

On Sunday last—("there are no Sabbaths in Revolutionary times," said Mr. Webster, or some one else)—the first general engagement with the rebel army took place at Bull's Run, not far from Manassas Junction, in Virginia—the result being the discomfiture of the Government forces, with great loss of life on both sides. This change in the aspect of affairs, though wholly unexpected, is not surprising, in view of the great disparity between the contending parties—the rebels having an immense superiority in point of numbers, and every advantage in choice of position, with masked batteries in all directions. There was evidently no lack of courage or determination on the part of the Northern troops; but in such circumstances, every step of the way openly exposed to the murderous fire of concealed enemies, the most desperate valor is unavailing, especially when there is great inequality of forces. It is true, a panic at last took place in their ranks, and a disastrous retreat followed; but not until nine hours of almost incessant conflict, passed under the hottest fire.

It is evident that, cost what it might in the sequel, Jefferson Davis and his generals saw the vast importance of gaining the first victory in a general engagement, in order to inspirit the rank and file of their own army, and to affect European sentiment favorably to a recognition of the independence of the Confederate States, if not with the expectation of disheartening the Government at Washington; and so they brought nearly their whole immense force into action, and decided the fortunes of the day by one tremendous, if not absolutely exhaustive effort.—An invading army inevitably labors under great embarrassments from lack of that familiar knowledge of localities, which is worth a host of men to the invaded, who know precisely where to decoy, to mine, to ambuscade, to plant their secret batteries, to choose the most available position of defence and attack; often making it a massacre rather than a conflict. Under such disadvantages will the Northern soldiers labor every inch of the way; and no amount of valor can overcome these, unless accompanied by a greatly preponderating numerical force. From the responses already made, that force will be speedily obtained, for the power of the North has scarcely yet been touched; and then a very different result may be confidently looked for, though not without the most sanguinary encounters.

But—at the best—what a horrid spectacle is presented to the world of a powerful nation rent with civil feuds, and millions of its people stimulated to the highest degree of hostility to each other! What desolate households—what wide-spread bereavements—what wailings of widows and orphans—what heaps of the dead, the dying, and the mutilated! And all this because of SLAVERY—accursed SLAVERY!

We predicted that the most demoniacal acts would be perpetrated upon the Northern soldiers falling under the power of the Southern Sepoys; and already we hear of the wounded on the battle-field thrust through and through with bowie-knives and bayonets, and otherwise mangled—in some instances their bodies quartered, and in others their heads cut off, and made the foot-balls of their fiendish enemies. Atrocities like these, and in every conceivable shape, may be expected in every encounter where the day shall be won by these debased and dastardly minions of the Slave Power. It is sickening to think of what is to come; for the struggle is evidently to be more protracted, and more formidable, than any have yet anticipated, unless it be cut short by a quick and an annihilating blow at the whole slave system—the sole cause of all this complication of horrors.

FIRST OF AUGUST. The anniversary of British West India Emancipation, to be commemorated by a mass gathering of the friends of impartial liberty at Island Grove, Abington, on Thursday next, August 1st, (see official notice,) should bring together a numerous assemblage, worthy of the glorious event. The array of speakers is large and attractive, whose eloquent words will be well worth listening to. Let none be absent who can conveniently attend.

It has been deemed advisable to omit the celebration of this Great Act of Justice, at Milford, (Mass.) on Friday next, August 2d, as advertised last week.

ADDRESS OF MR. GARRISON.

[Reported for the Liberator.]

A crowded audience of the colored people of Boston,—a considerable number of white persons being also present,—assembled on Saturday evening last, in Rev. Mr. Grimes's church in Southac street, in this city, to listen to an address by William Lloyd Garrison, with reference to the state of the Anti-Slavery cause and the question of colonization. Mr. Garrison began by remarking that upwards of thirty years had transpired since he dedicated his life to the work of emancipating every slave in the United States—a period covering the average life of a whole generation. Of those who had started with him in the struggle, the aged, of course, had long since seen "the last of earth"; those then in their prime were ripening into venerable years; while the youthful and infantile had grown up to manhood and womanhood, themselves being now surrounded by the pledges of wedded life. It had been a long and fearful struggle, full of startling vicissitudes, heavy trials, and cheering victories. At no time had the Anti-Slavery movement been driven back, or even temporarily defeated. Animated by a divine presence, its course had been steadily upward and onward, till at last the nation was shaken by the tread of hostile armies, summoned to decide the question by the dread arbitrament of arms, whether Liberty or Slavery should control the destinies of the republic.

Mr. G. then proceeded to take a retrospective view of the state of the country as early as 1828, at which time an Abolitionist, in the modern sense, was unknown; the right of slaveholders to their slaves was unquestioned; the possession of slave property was every where the passport to special consideration; the free colored people were universally despised, and without hope or prospect of relief; and complexional prejudice existed in its intensest form. Every avenue to the public ear was closed; the press, the pulpit, the forum, the legislative hall, were all inimical to agitation; every thing had to be changed—opinion, feeling, sentiment and action. Well might the nation, under such circumstances, deem him, or any one like him, without means, position, influence or friends, fanatical in thinking to effect a radical alteration in these particulars. But we had apostolical authority for the declaration that "God chooses the weak things of the world to confound the things that are mighty, that no flesh may glory in his presence"; and its veracity had been singularly demonstrated in the amazing growth of the Anti-Slavery cause. He had something better than wealth, stronger than public opinion, mightier than numbers: it was the Right and the Truth, and the arm of the living God.

To show why such progress had been made, Mr. Garrison said he had from the beginning repudiated all considerations of wordly expediency and carnal policy, and adhered to the principles of justice in an uncompromising spirit. He began by declaring, not only slavery as a system, but slaveholding *per se*, always sinful and criminal, and by demanding its immediate abandonment. In vain the slaveholder pleaded that he had a divine right to hold his slaves, under Moses and under Christ; or that he bought them at their market value, in a legal manner, and therefore his title could not be questioned; or that he had inherited them, and thus rightfully became their possesor; or that freedom would prove a curse to them, and not a blessing;—to these and a multitude of other similar pleas he sternly gave the lie, and constantly affirmed the right of the slave to his liberty, in view of his God-given nature and immortal destiny. Man was never created to be herded with brutes, or accounted as perishable property. The keen instinct of the slave-owners instantly led them to perceive that such treatment of the question was "the beginning of the end"—laying the axe at the root of the tree; and they lost no time in violently endeavoring to suppress the promulgation of such sentiments—but all in vain.

Next, he had faithfully declared Christianity and Slavery to be irreconcileable, and, consequently, that a slaveholding religion must be spurious. Christ was the great Emancipator, whose mission it was to open the prison doors, and to set the captives free. He (Mr. G.) desired no stronger weapon to contend against any form of tyranny than what was furnished by the gospel of Christ. That gospel he had ever identified with justice, humanity and freedom. To the pro-slavery religionists of America he had denied the Christian name, and they had retorted by branding him as an infidel! If, to be a Christian, it became necessary to sanction slavery, and to connive at the traffic in human flesh, he did not wish to be one; but such a thought was a libel upon Christianity, which condemned the proud and rapacious, and espoused the cause of the poor and the oppressed.

Again—he had placed the emancipation of the slave above all parchments, constitutions and laws—above all parties and sects—putting them in one scale and the slave in the other, who was seen to outweigh them all; for their only value was to be found in developing and elevating man, and when they became a clog, and a means of his degradation, it was time to change or repudiate them altogether.

The same infallible test he had applied to the American Union, and it was found wanting. The pro-slavery guaranties in the Constitution had made it "a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell"; and how could he do otherwise, as a consistent and uncompromising representative of the slave, than to repudiate it?

For the free colored people he had insisted on equal rights and privileges, and was early led to protest against the scheme of their colonization in Africa as shaped and enforced by the American Colonization Society. This was not owing to any lack of interest in the civilization and Christianization of that benighted continent on his part; for he longed to see the day when Ethiopia should stretch out her hands unto God, and the light of science and true religion penetrate through all her vast domains. Nor was it because he was opposed to really free, spontaneous emigration. The world was wide for men to choose their abode, according to their taste and inclination. But he denounced the Colonization Society, among other reasons, because of its Southern origin, its slaveholding management, its operating as a safety-valve to the slave system in removing free colored persons and surplus slaves; and especially for its immoral and unchristian doctrines, that slavery was not a crime, that slave property was as sacred as any other property, that no slave should be set free until he could be colonized, that laws should be made yet more rigorous to compel emigration, that complexional prejudice could not be removed even by the power of the Holy Ghost; that the free colored people were more degraded and worse off than the slave population, and yet that they, and they only, were qualified to act as missionaries to reclaim Africa from her barbarism! It absurdly insisted that Africa was the native country of colored free-born Americans; but it would scout the assertion that America was the home of native-born Africans—one position being as rational as the other. It also bitterly assailed the Anti-Slavery movement, and instigated every form of opposition to it, even to mobocratic violence in repeated instances.

Such were the grounds of his opposition to it. It took years of persistent and strenuous effort to destroy the evil power of that Society; but the work had been effectually done, and it had subsided into a comparatively harmless missionary enterprise.

Without perceiving or apprehending all its hateful features, no sooner was it organized than the free colored people in all the leading cities intuitively saw it to be the handmaid of slavery, and promptly bore their emphatic testimony against it. Hence, ever since, naturally enough, they had been suspicious of every new colonization plan, however kindly intended. Mr. G. here proceeded to give his views, briefly but frankly, of the Haytian emigration scheme, which is now urged upon their consideration, and in regard to which there is some diversity of opinion among them. It bore no resemblance whatever to the old colonization scheme, in spirit, design or origin. It was not devised by Southern slaveholders, but by the Haytian government, and was a commendable effort on its part to augment its population, increase its strength, and enlarge its prosperity. That republic had his warmest sympathies and his heartiest wishes for its success; it deserved the independence it had won, and he took a deep interest in its safety and welfare. The overtures made to colored emigrants by President Geffrard were of a liberal nature, and he had no doubt would be honorably carried out. Mr. G. here bestowed a warm eulogium upon the character of the Haytian President. He also spoke of Mr. Redpath, the General Agent of the Haytian government, as animated by no other than a friendly feeling and an anti-slavery purpose—as heartily opposed to slavery, and having done essential service to the cause of freedom in Kansas as against the Border-Ruffians, and also in reference to John Brown and his martyr-associates. He saw no ground, therefore, for impeachment of motive or bitterness of feeling. Still, he did not regommend the scheme, and doubted its utility; for it was a diversion from the one great work of attacking the slave system, and demanding justice for the colored race here—here where no acclimating was needed, no strange language to be learnt, no new customs and habits to be formed. The intelligent and enterprising could not well be spared, and the ignorant and shiftless would be of little service. He thought its tendency would prove injurious by unsettling the minds of the colored people as to their future destiny, and by reviving and strengthening the old persecuting spirit, and perhaps stimulating to yet more unfriendly legislation in certain parts of the country. He was hopeful of the speedy downfall of slavery; and that being taken out of the way, prejudice would soon disappear, and all the precious rights and immunities enjoyed by the whites would ultimately be granted to them or their children. Just as had been the case in the British West Indies, where, before emancipation, colorphobia was as rabid as it had ever been here; but since that glorious event, it had rapidly disappeared, colored men having become eminent as merchants, lawyers, doctors, members of the Assembly, and officers of the government.

Mr. Garrison referred encouragingly to the altered state of public sentiment, within the last twenty-five years, toward the free colored population, as well as slave, throughout the North. In Massachusetts, under the State Constitution and before the laws, there was no complexional proscription whatever; the public schools (an inestimable privilege) were open to all; public travel was on equal terms; the lecturing field had been ably and eloquently occupied by colored lecturers, who had won for themselves distinction and applause; the learned professions were gradually being reached by colored aspirants; and the general state of feeling was growing more and more sympathetic and friendly. There was, then, no cause for despondency, but, on the contrary, the future was full of promise. He would have his colored brethren stand firm in their lot, and await the issue of the tremendous conflict now going on between the hosts of freedom and the powers of darkness. The flag had ceased to symbolize the old state of things; and as it was now execrated and trampled upon by the dealers in human flesh, it began to look handsome in his eyes! General Butler's doctrine of "contraband" he regarded as tantamount to the emancipation of the slaves in all the Confederate States, as fast as the Northern army penetrated south of Mason and Dixon's line. But that emancipation would have to be secured by an official decree of the government before the war could be successfully ended; in which case they might all joyfully exclaim—

"All hail the day when, o'er our land,
The sun of freedom shone;
When, dimmed and sunk in Eastern skies,
He rose upon our own,
To chase the night of slavery, and wake the slumbering free:—
May his light shine more bright,
May his orb roll sublime, till it warm every clime,
And illume from sea to sea!"

[☞ "*The Pine and Palm*," of this week, published at Room No. 8, 221 Washington Street, will contain a full report of this speech, as made by Mr. J. M. W. Yerrinton expressly for that journal.]

THE "PIONIER" AND THE MAYOR.

In an article on the freedom of the press as affected by the war, Mr. Heinzen, in his last issue, reports the following conversation between himself and the Mayor of Boston. In his prefaced remarks, he argues that only military necessity, in the actual presence and condition of war, can justify interference with the freedom of the press; and that, away from the war and from military authority, the press is as free as in times of peace, subject only to the discretion and good sense of its conductors, and to the civil laws (as that of treason, for example). He continues:—

"As early as the 5th inst., we received from Chief of Police Amee, of Boston, a written invitation to call on him at his office. In our business walks, we called three times at the City Hall without finding him; but since we were eager to learn what the police could have to do with us, we did not grudge calling again last Saturday. This time we had the good fortune to meet the Chief of Police, but were informed that really it was not he who wanted to speak with us, but his superior, the Mayor. We were therefore introduced by him to Mr. Mayor Wightman, in whose office, after the customary shaking of hands, the following conversation ensued:—

Mayor. How is your name pronounced?

Editor of the Pionier. Heinzen.

M. Mr. Heinzen, my attention has been directed to an expression in your paper, which I cannot overlook. [Producing the *Pionier* of June 27, together with a written paper, and pointing to the following paragraph: 'No greater service could this instant be done the Republic, than for the troops to revolt, and chase Mr. Lincoln, with all his Cabinet, and General Scott to boot, out of Washington, or hang them to the first lamp-post, for in fact they are all traitors.'] Mr. Heinzen, is this paragraph editorial?

E. It is.

M. Do you suppose it is allowed you as a foreigner to use such language in this country?

E. First of all, sir, I must beg you not to address me as a foreigner. The point between us is not of my birth, but of my right. I am a citizen of this Republic, as well as you, and flatter myself to be as good a Republican as any one.

M. Then you ought to know, I should think, that it is n't allowable to attack the government in this fashion.

E. As a Republican, I know my obligations, and also my rights. This is a question of the freedom of the press, Mr. Mayor.

M. No, it is a question of treason.

E. May I be permitted to know who is my informer?

M. That is of no consequence. *I* inform against you.

E. Do you understand German?

M. I understand this paragraph (by means of the annexed translation).

E. I ask for the informer only because he must be a thoroughly mean creature. Every one who understands German knows, that no paper in the country contends against the treason and rebellion of the slaveholders more zealously and energetically than the *Pionier*. Probably it has been informed against for that very reason. The informer has counted upon your ignorance of the German language, and has laid before you a paragraph torn from its connection. In this case, the tendency, not the letter, determines.

M. The tendency is as plain as can be, if you make it the duty of the soldiers to hang the President, &c. Thereby you render aid to the enemy.

E. Stick to what I have written. That says nothing of the duty of the soldiers, but only of my conviction. Let me, for the rest, enlighten you by an illustration. You and the Chief of Police are in duty bound to help bring criminals to justice in Boston. Now, imagine the case of a common rowdy or other knave murdering an innocent person, and you, instead of arresting him, assisting him to escape. Do I, now, render aid to the murderer when I say, that Mayor Wightman deserves to be hanged, or, that no greater service could be done the city of Boston than to tie him up to the first lamp-post?

M. You cannot apply that to the government. That must be treated with respect, and to excite ill-feeling against it is to succor the enemy.

E. Respect is as free as the press. What I have said is my conviction, and to publish my conviction, by means of the freedom of the press, is my right. If, in so doing, I offend against a law, in your opinion, you may bring me to justice. I am always ready, for every letter which I write, to answer at the proper place; but I do not allow my right to be called in question.

M. But it is my duty, as Mayor of this city, not to suffer such language here, but *to stop your paper*, if you persist in it.

E. I am not to be intimidated by that. I shall continue to express my convictions, and am ready at any moment to go with you before a judge.

M. You do n't discriminate between liberty and license. If you claim the right to express any conviction or opinion you choose, you might, under cover of your conviction, slander everybody; for example, me, and rob them of their good name.

E. I have the right to "slander" everybody, even you, in the expression of my "opinion" or "conviction," but you have the right to bring me to court for it, and that shall decide whether I am really a slanderer or no. If you want to set bounds to the freedom of expressing one's opinions, you establish a censorship, you remove freedom utterly in principle, and make it impossible even in those cases where its use is a recognized right. Can you not, for instance, conceive the possibility of the President of the United States being an actual, intentional traitor? And would you, in such a case, out of respect for the government, bid the press be silent, and sacrifice the republic, or would you help bring the traitor to account? For my part, I would not only say in the *Pionier*, that he must be hung, but would proclaim it openly in the streets, and if no one else would hang him, I would hang him with my own hand.

M. You are using strong language.

E. Very likely. But the question all the time is only of truth and right. Moreover, other papers too, (as the New York *Tribune*,) have already informed the gentlemen in Washington that they might "pack their trunks," if they continued to act as heretofore. Those papers merely expressed themselves somewhat more gingerly and prudently than the *Pionier*, but they have had exactly the same intent, to wit, to admonish the government of its ruinous policy, and to try to spur it on to vigorous action against the traitors and rebels.

M. I could not overlook your case, because I should otherwise have incurred the suspicion of agreeing with your expressions, and of being indifferent to the voice of the city of Boston. I am no Republican, and do not approve altogether the policy of the administration, but I cannot tolerate your language against it. Besides, I suspect that there is a different interest at bottom from that which appears, and therefore I advise you as a friend, for the sake of your paper, not to compel me to proceed against it.

E. I thank you for your friendliness, but I leave you to do what you deem your duty. As for me, I shall not yield a hair's breadth of my rights, but shall employ hereafter, as hitherto, the freedom of the press as my convictions bid me.

(The scene closes *without* the shaking of hands.)

So far the police examination of the *Pionier*.

Whether Mr. Mayor Wightman is a Know-nothing, and fancied he could manage and intimidate us as a foreigner, is here a matter of secondary importance; the chief point lies in the idea he has of the right of a free press, and which is not peculiar to him. Mr. Wightman is the very same Mayor who, with the consent of Boston aristocracy and mobdom, suppressed the right of free speech by a forcible dispersion of an Abolition convention. According to the same principles which guided him then, he appears now to be inclined to suppress the right of free publication. He did not tell us he would bring us to court under the law relating to treason, (when the freedom of the press would be entirely out of the question,) but he threatened eventually to stop the *Pionier*. On what legal ground, or in what way, he thought to do that, he did not divulge, and since we, with our faulty English, were glad enough to be able to tell him briefly our mind on only the leading points, we were obliged to give over more precise discussions. We suppose he will confiscate the *Pionier*, if it contains such offensive matter again. Well, we shall not be so childish as to aim at obliging him, according to his idea, to seize an opportunity of "stopping" us; but we shall all the less conduct the *Pionier* as if it were under a censorship, and with joy test with him the guaranties of a free press, if Mr. Mayor is pleased to enter upon the trial. Although a "foreigner," alone and unsupported, we shall know how to show him that foreigners understand American freedom as well as the supporters of American freedom appear sometimes to understand foreign despotism."

That our readers may not mistake Mr. Heinzen's position, we translate the two paragraphs which precede the one objected to by the Mayor. They were under the head of the "Revolutionary Bulletin."

"June 25. Lies and nullities as every day.

June 26. All quiet and drowsy. Not even lies. It is evident they are aiming in Washington at letting all excitement slumber, in order to pave the way for a compromise in Congress.

No greater service, &c.

We say this from cool conviction."

Whether Mr. Heinzen was mistaken or not, in the grounds of his conviction, no one at least will accuse him of wishing the President and Cabinet removed because of their activity against the rebels. As for Mayor Wightman, we hope he will "inform" Mayor Wood against the *Journal of Commerce*, the *Day-Book*, and other secession prints in New York city.

☞ THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY, for 1861, contains the following articles:—1. Trees in Assemblages. 2. Miss Lucinda. 3. A Soldier's Ancestry. 4. Fibrilla. 5. Nat Turner's Insurrection (a timely and admonitory article by Mr. Higginson). 6. Concerning Veal. 7. Reminiscences of Stephen A. Douglas. 8. Our River (by Whittier). 9. Agnes of Sorrento. 10. Mail-Clad Steamers. 11. Parting Hymn. 12. Where will the Rebellion leave Us? 13. Theodore Winthrop. 14. Dirge. 15. Reviews and Literary Notices. Recent American Publications. A most interesting and valuable number. Ticknor & Fields, Publishers, 135 Washington Street, Boston.

☞ Recent numbers of the *Star of Liberia* mention Leo Lloyd as having created some excitement there by efforts to cast suspicion upon Ex-President Roberts, with a view of advancing the political interests of President Benson; among other things, intimating that a desire exists among a faction in that country (Liberia) to accomplish the destruction of the republic, and establish a monarchy. The aforesaid Leo Lloyd is either "half-cracked," or "no better than he should be," as we had frequent occasion to show in our columns before he went to Africa.

THE GREATEST MODERN POET DEAD. Mrs. Elizabeth Barrett Browning died at Florence, the 29th of June last. No poet, living or dead, has ever written any thing more beautiful than has she. Her death we regard as a great loss to the world, for she sympathized with the oppressed everywhere.

☞ We ask the special attention of our readers to the very able and suggestive communications on "Gen. Butler's Contraband of War," from the pen of David Lee Child, Esq., in this week's *Liberator*—the first part on the last page, and the second on the inside. The third part we shall publish next week.

GEN. BUTLER'S CONTRABAND OF WAR.

PART II.

Col. Henry Lee, of the Revolutionary Army, afterwards General and Governor of Virginia, was annoyed during much of his life by the importunity of creditors and the pursuit of bailiffs. He was a most gallant officer, and a genial and hospitable gentleman; but, like most Southerners, not overscrupulous in *keeping contracts and paying debts*. He was ingenious and skillful in the art and stratagems of war, and once entrapped and captured a Tory leader and four hundred and fifty of his followers, by sending him an order in the name of the British *Colonel, Tarlton*, to be in a certain place at an appointed time. Lee was a favorite of Washington, and presumed so far upon his friendship and indulgence as to sell, as his own, eleven hundred acres of wood and timber land belonging to the General, passing a formal title and taking the money. After a while, a rumor of his "raise" reached the Father of his country, and he interrogated the adventurous Colonel on the subject. The latter replied that "he wanted money badly, and as it was a wild out-o'-the-way lot, he supposed his General would n't want it." To which Washington rejoined, "Perhaps not; but I have one request to make of you, and that is, that you will not sell Mount Vernon"!

This distinguished soldier and author, father of General Lee, now commanding in chief the Virginia insurgents, procured a lodge to be built for him on the Maryland and Virginia line, with a room in each State, so that from whichever the officers of the law came, he could take sanctuary in the other!

To the slave-breeders and drivers the slave-dusky dodge has been as convenient, as his dual lodge to Harry Lee.

Having in the first part of this discussion stopped up, *for the present*, one of the rooms, I now propose to stop the others.

To the end of augmenting their ability to abuse their wretched bondmen and women, govern and fleece industrious and opulent free States, and maintain a gigantic monopoly of slave-manufacturing and trading, protected by us with the death-penalty, our late masters have no longer under this government any occasion to count their slaves as "persons." Now they would doubtless renounce "with alacrity" that wonderful constitutional privilege, so prolific of power and profit in times past. But this shift cannot save their human *chattels*, any more than the Constitution—whose protection, with their accustomed modesty, they invoke at the gates of our fortresses and the pickets of our camps, after repudiating all its obligations, and trampling and spitting upon its banner—can save either their chattels or themselves from being grasped and molded by the hand of war.

By the laws of war, the victors in a just cause may seize, appropriate to the uses of the war, carry off, confiscate, distribute or destroy every species of property, public or private, belonging to their enemies. The Rules and Articles, established by Congress for the government of our armies, recognize this principle in all its breadth; for while they guard by swift military penalties, in addition to the ordinary civil ones, the property of our own citizens, they make no provision for the protection of the property of our enemies, evidently intending to leave the latter to the law of nations, the exigencies of the service, and the integrity and discretion of those employed in it.

It is certainly and fortunately true that private property is usually respected, but that strict law permits its seizure at the discretion of the conquerors is a position which cannot be successfully controverted.

This right, though available at discretion, is not to be abused. It cannot be used to sate private avarice, and mere lust of plunder. The just and impregnable grounds of all seizures of enemies' property, are the crippling of their resources of every sort, replenishing and sustaining our own, promoting the success, securing the objects, and expediting the conclusion of the war. Thus all captured property is to be faithfully applied, or carefully preserved, for the service of the conquering nation.

Instead of taking moveable goods, or confiscating real estate and selling it, or receiving the rents and profits, the victors may levy contributions, and lay and collect duties on the importation, exportation and consumption of goods, both foreign and domestic. And in a war, clearly unjust and unprovoked, it is immaterial whether the aggrieved party strike the first blow or not, though it usually happens that the wrong-doer is also the first assailant.

These restrictions, prescribed by the laws of war, and based on equity, humanity and good conscience, relieve the strict right and discretionary power of taking enemies' property, from the invincible repugnance which every just and generous mind must feel to the unlimited and indiscriminate plunder even of the most unjust and odious aggressors.

The conqueror has a right to seize on all the property of the enemy that comes within his power, and it matters not whether it be moveable or immoveable. These seizures may be made,—1, In order to obtain what he demands as due, or an equivalent; 2, To defray the expenses of the war; 3, To force the enemy to an equitable peace; 4, To deter, or, by reducing his strength, hinder him from repeating, in future, the injuries *which have been the cause of the war*. And with this last object in view, a power at war has a right to destroy the property and possessions of the enemy for the express purpose of doing him mischief.—*Martin's Law of Nations*, pp. 287–8.

The above is a summary of the principal rules, applicable to this point, as they have been established by the highest authorities on the law of nations.

By what right did our Sixth seize the arms of the secessionists and assassins of Baltimore? These were private property in a private warehouse. The justification is that they belonged to enemies and traitors. By what right did Ellsworth take the flag, or a regiment its camping ground, in Virginia? By what right does our army raise an intrenchment there, or even win a field of battle, if that be its fortune? By what right are we seizing scores of vessels and boats in the Chesapeake and Potomac, and thousands of barrels of flour in mills and on freight trains, and trains and railroads themselves? These were all private property. There can be but one answer—the right in war of stripping, weakening and vanquishing the enemy; supplying and strengthening ourselves, and winning the palm of victory and the blessings of peace. By that same right, the chained chattel was taken from the Alexandria slave-pen and destroyed,—i. e., *converted into a man*, protected and employed by the Michigan regiment. He is now performing important service to his benefactors and to the people of the United States; while to a certain, though not the same extent, the loss of a commodity, capable of making an ash-cake, dressing and roasting a pig, and brandishing a pickaxe, shovel or firelock, impairs the efficiency and amount of the forces and means of enemies and traitors. Suppose it had been a roasting-jack or washing machine in the Marshall House at Alexandria, and our men needed those articles, could they by the laws of war take them, and be forbidden by the same laws to take a thinking locomotive, laughing, sympathizing, thankful article, containing in itself those same machines, and many more? Or is it an insuper

the same brood of damnable *isms*. But the worst of all these abominations is the modern system of free schools.—*Richmond Examiner*, 1836.

The capture and possession of the property of enemies taken on land, divests the owner of his right, and vests it in the conquering nation; and it is immaterial whether it be captured or voluntarily surrendered.

If there be any who admit these principles, and yet deny that we have a right to seize, or receive, when voluntarily surrendered, those *moveables*, "which have been the cause of the war," and whose capture, reception and conversion into men are, not merely direct and efficient, but perhaps the only sure means of success in the war, and, at any rate, of speedy and permanent peace—they utter an absurdity too self-evident to require any other refutation than its statement.

What! has property in human blood and bones—the right to exact work without wages, to sell and tear from kindred, home and country, to torture the body to death and brutalize the soul—grown so sacred in this enlightened age and Christian nation, that it is to be exempted from the rules and incidents to which every other species of property is subject, and favored with a national republican policy of insurance? Call it republican, if you please, but it will in reality be a little more than democratic; it will be diabolical.

What! did Washington, Lafayette, Mifflin, Minge, John Randolph, the Fitzhughs of Maryland, the Clays, the Thomes, the Rev. Drs. Nelson and Bristlane, James G. Birney, Cornelia Barbour, Angelina and Sarah Grimké, John G. Palfrey, John G. Fee, Mattie Griffith, George Washington P. Custis, and thousands more, who, for the love of God and man, and the good of their own souls, renounced the baleful possession, and divested themselves, and those dearest to them, of legal inheritances, only commit a fantastic and self-denying act of folly, or of incredible hypocrisy and disinterested robbery? They proclaimed, by the most solemn transactions that pertain to life and death, that there *is* a difference between this and other property—not sanctifying and blessing, but infecting and dooming it, and blighting all beneath and around it!

There are other principles of the law of nations, which lead to the same result of arming the injured belligerent with discretionary power over the persons and property of the aggressors. A war begun and waged without just cause, from selfish, rapacious, ambitious, envious and malicious motives, and for unjustifiable ends, authorizes the aggrieved party to inflict at discretion, upon its authors and supporters, such penalties as the nature and aggravation of the offence may require.

It is implied in every *social compact*, that those who violate it shall be reduced to submission, and even put to death, if that be necessary to secure society against new disturbances, and the sacrifice of new victims. Otherwise, human society could not exist.—*Isambert. Historical View of Public Law and the Law of Nations.* p. 248.

If a nation allows foreigners to enter its territory, it is bound to respect their rights, so long as they conduct themselves peaceably; and if, in breach of good faith, it proceed to punish them vindictively, when they have committed no offence, it is justly responsible for its conduct to the nation to which they belong. —*Judge Story, Enc. Am.*

Whether the State or its subjects be the offending party, if the State refuse to make satisfaction, the property of each of its subjects, coming within the reach of the injured State, is liable to seizure; and even the persons of such subjects may be seized, but the life of an innocent person cannot be taken, unless in extraordinary cases, where there is no other means of obtaining the satisfaction due, and of preventing future violations.—*Martens*, p. 268.

Murder, or unnecessary personal violence, of any kind, committed upon enemies by a people at war, justifies and requires retaliation, either upon prisoners of war, or indiscriminately upon any individuals of the guilty nation.—*Grotius.*

Murder or personal outrage is greatly aggravated, when, to the title of stranger, which should be sufficient, is superadded that of fellow-citizen travelling or tarrying for health, friendship, commercial intercourse, or local business, to which he has been invited under the guaranties of contract or pledges of hospitality, a claim which the wildest aborigines and Arabs hold sacred. In this case, not only are public faith and national comity confided in, but also private honor, mutual oaths, and a common allegiance. Yet what scores, what thousands of our brethren and sisters, trusting to these and to conscious rectitude, have been meanly and basely defrauded and robbed, barbarously tortured, and, with horrid refinements of cruelty, murdered, by dastard and ferocious multitudes, because—

"Unshaken, unsubdued, unterrified,
Their loyalty they kept, their faith, their zeal,
Though single."

Vattel is of opinion that there are cases in which a belligerent has a right to destroy an unjust and ferocious nation like the Barbary pirates.

These must of course be extreme cases, defying all ordinary means of establishing justice and peace.

The repeated insurrections to restore the Stuart dynasty, having always their chief incentive and aliment in the patriarchal system of the Highlands, brought the British nation at last to the solemn conviction that the interest and safety of domestic peace and good government necessitated the extirpation of that "barbarism." Therefore they ravaged with fire and sword several thousand square miles of the insurgent territory, and put to death many thousand traitors and rebels in the field of battle, on the block and gibbet, and by shooting them down like wild beasts, as the Southern rebels often do their slaves, for no other offence except the desire of liberty.

The punishment of the obstinate and sanguinary insurgents of the Vendee was still more memorable; and illustrates more strikingly the power, with which the conquerors are armed in a just and unavoidable war. Yet the guilt of the Vendeans was far inferior to that of the American traitors. Their position was precisely that of Kentucky,—resistance to the orders of the nation to turn out their contingent of men for the army. Kentucky has not resisted with arms, for the very satisfactory reason that the government has subsided in face of her threats, and let her alone!

The United States have often laid waste Indian cornfields and villages, driving off their horses and cattle, and not unfrequently slaughtering the inhabitants. This very year we pay more than three millions from the national treasury for doing such work in Oregon. And the brave and humane Gen. Wool, who sought to stay it as unnecessary, unjust and mercenary on the part of the Oregonians, appears to have been discredited by the late administration on that account. Why his tried valor, skill and experience have not been called into the active service of the country in this great crisis, is matter of surprise and regret.

Gen. Jackson hung and butchered prisoners of war, Indian chiefs, women, and British subjects, because he considered their offence in making war on the United States as meriting it; and his acts received the sanction of the government and people.

In 1854 Gen. Harney massacred one hundred and fifty men, women and children, at the instigation of Jefferson Davis, upon a charge, not proved, of committing hostilities against the United States by stealing—not mints, sub-treasuries, ships and arsenals, but a poor stray and lame Mormon cow!

Virginia reduced prisoners to slavery in her wars with the noble natives of her happy clime, generous, hospitable and forbearing as they had been to the riotous, rash, and bloody wretches, who effected the first landings and settlement on the soil of the Old Dominion. And she recorded her sense of the guilt of those "barbarians" in rising in arms against her, by statutes offering premiums for their scalps, and awarding, as slaves to her soldiers, all the captives that each might make.

D. L. C.

[*To be concluded.*]

☞ Wm. Wells Brown intends spending a few weeks in Canada, and will lecture at Toronto, and other important places, on the elevation of the colored population. This will be his first visit to the Provinces for many years. Success attend him!

THE ACTUAL ISSUE.

"*What shall be the sign of the end of the aeon or dispensation?*"—Matt. xxxiv. 3.

The combustibles have been thrown into the crater for years, the spark of ignition was long ago communicated, the internal rumbling and muffled snapping, with occasional shuddering threats to burst forth through a quaking inclosure,—like Jehovah from Sinai,—and several severe precursor shocks have been experienced from time to time, until at last a tremendous convulsion has eventuated in a mighty eruption. The volcano is now in full blast. The conflagration having commenced, suggests the very important question, When will it end? This again demands to know its cause.

Let us look at this point. Some say it is because of the Southern determination to rule over the North. Some, that the North has interfered with the Southern interests, and thus exasperated them to this pitch. requires control or possession of all the national offices, The one alleges that the South, directly or indirectly, and asserts her right to carry slaves all over the country, and especially into common territory; this official control being subsidiary thereto as a means to induce the official corps to co-operate with them in thus influencing the elections of national rulers and legislators. The other charges the North with prohibiting slavery in common territory, with striving to modify, limit, even to abolish slavery, thus interfering with what does not belong to it. Pursue the inquiry on both sides far as you please, and it matters not whether the one asserts the constitutional right to hold slaves, to use them as laborers, to transfer them from one spot to another, to buy and sell them, or the other denies the validity of the assertion, the matter narrows itself down to a difficulty on account of slavery. Whether the Abolitionist claims the right of speech, and disputes his fellow-countryman's right to hold persons in servitude, or the slaveholder insists that he is entitled to be let alone; his conduct and policy are not to be pried into by another; his institution is not to be impugned, but protected by the national ægis; the issue is evidently, Freedom or Slavery, a heterogeneous and conflicting, or a homogeneous and harmonious republic. This lies at the foundation; it is the core of the affair. Pulverize the materials, sift them, analyze them, bring chemistry to the work, or the microscope to inspect, and still the constituent atoms bear the same identifying features as the aggregate mass.

Whether slavery be right or wrong, or the Abolitionist be right or wrong, is not the question. Both these are asserted by each side, and the fact is stubbornly an issue between these fundamental belligerents. Remove slavery, and the stock of the Abolitionist is exhausted; Othello's occupation's gone. Continue it; and freedom of speech, writing, printing, telegraphing, acting against it, will continue. So long as it does continue, there will be difficulty. A compromise will be only a patch over the vent-hole of the volcano. The spread of anti-slavery sentiments will increase, and produce a constantly augmenting pressure upon this tremulous lid, until in the process of time it will fly off again, and let out the lava with more fury and volume than ever. The two antagonistic principles of freedom and servitude, in any form, have always had their advocates; and so long as there is a subject, or supposed subject, whereon they can act, there will they struggle, cheek by jowl, till both are destroyed, or freedom proves triumphant. The antagonism of the cat and the rat is not greater than that of the Abolitionist and the slaveholder. Indeed, in this belligerent sense, they are the cat and the rat of this republic. Therefore, so long as a single slave exists in this nation, and a single anti-slavery man, the contest will be kept up. These make the republic heterogeneous, and administer the lobelia which is now at work on the nation's stomach.

The end then cannot be till one or both these parties are subdued,—the slaveholder or the anti-slavery man; we may say, become extinct; not physically extinct, by force and arms, but by circumstances of a moral character, by conscientious conviction, by an eradication of the cause,—not the negro's destruction, but the abolition of negro slavery. However much one may oppose this as a prudential motive, such is the stubborn fact; the conclusion is irresistible; and it matters not a straw whether our soldier believes he is fighting for the flag, or for the Union, as it was or as it may be, or for the administration, or for self-preservation and for home; the result must be partial or entire subjugation, dismemberment, compromise, or extermination of slavery. And any one may estimate, in his own mind, the probable value of entire or partial Union under each and every one of these conditions; and this will determine his estimated value of his flag, of the administration, and of his home. Let us not forget the rising generation and the oppressed in foreign lands, nor our own posterity nor theirs; let us take pride not only in the existence and welfare of our own free country for ourselves and future generations, but also as an asylum for other people, and a salutary example for the influence of foreign nations all over the globe.

We cannot but see that no patch will perpetuate our harmony. That will place us only where we were before, with even a divided democracy,—almost an incredibility, certainly an absurdity. Northern officeholders and politicians must abruptly wheel away from a Douglas at the South's behest or bribe or threat, and misrepresent their constituents. Southrons must be our experienced army and navy officers, liable to desert our flag in a rebellion; millions of lives must be exposed, millions of money expended, health, trade, agriculture, comfort, safety, impaired; privateers may be let loose upon our commerce, foreign nations may threaten and even pounce upon us in the midst of our family quarrel, soon as the patch evinces a quivering upon any of its edges. However unpalatable may be the dose, however hideous the spectacle, however repulsive the thought, circumstances indicate that nothing short of an eradication of the cause can produce permanent tranquillity in a nation like this, claiming to be free. Whether it be practicable, expedient, or disastrous, emancipation seems to be the only means of perpetuating the peace, harmony, and integrity of this Union, if slavery is the occasion of the present national difficulty, or even if it be claimed that "mind your own business" has not been observed; for, then, the Abolitionist would insist just this to be his business. This collision will argue the points, indicate the trouble, but a series of wars may be required to unfurl to the entire world the actual and eloquent signal of the end.

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PETITIONS TO CONGRESS.

Battle Creek, (Michigan,) July 16, 1861.

Dear Friend—I have in my hands several well-filled petitions, asking for the abolition of slavery by Congress, that were circulated in Marshall and Kosciusko counties, Indiana.

What shall be done with these petitions? The voice of the people should be heard, and Government must hear it. [Send them to Washington at once.]

If the expression of the people, *for the abolition of slavery*, could be taken to-day, what an immense gain we should see over the past! The morbid sentiment and prejudices of the more ignorant are giving place to the stern necessity of self-defence, and the intelligent conservative is forgetting his dislike for the negro in his hot hatred for the rebel against the government and liberty. So, from necessity and spite, these two classes are becoming desperate for emancipation. What a pity that from high and holy motives this simple act of justice could not have been accomplished years ago, and civilization and Christianity, not the lowest and most atheistic power, have borne aloft the standard of Liberty, and the flag of the Republic!

There is, to my mind, a terrible incongruity in this mode of warfare, to establish the grand centre of a free government. Indeed, I am unable to see how it can be done at all, with an internal foe hostile as the pit to the first principles of democracy—so powerful that, under the same Constitution that the present administration clamor for, they have converted the whole country into a great slave plantation.

All that government can do under this administration—taking Mr. Lincoln's Inaugural for their highest policy with regard to slavery—is to feed the troops and bow to the authority of manhood.

I thank Congress for relieving our soldiers of the degrading responsibility of sending back the fugitive, and hope they will do as much justice to Mr. Wilson's bill for confiscating personal property. Government has played the dog-in-the-manger long enough. The people—almost the whole people—are eagerly watching every avenue to the slave's deliverance.

I heard a good mother say yesterday, "I have sent my only son to the army, and, precious as his life is to me, I willingly risk it for the liberty of the slave, and the freedom of the country."

Truly yours, J. S. GRIFFING.

AN APPEAL.

To the President of the United States:

The Lord has a controversy with this people and their government; and as we are now astonished at the judicial blindness of the Jews, so will future ages be astonished at our blindness and obstinacy of unbelief in regard to our great national sin. That a nation which styles itself the freest under heaven should hold four millions of slaves in the most crushing bondage ever known on earth, is an insult to common sense and reason. But that a nation, holding itself in the van of those following Him, who so decisively taught the doctrine of human brotherhood as to say, "Call no man your master," that such a people should hold in utter, perpetual bondage so large a portion of their fellow-men—this is what debases Christianity below heathenism; this is what darkens the very noon of gospel day with the advancing shades of a night of Tartarean blackness—such a night as the apocalyptic seer saw when but two witnesses remained; such as the Saviour saw when he uttered the sad prophetical query, "When the Son of Man cometh, shall he find faith on earth?" The church of such a people would be the boastful, but poor, blind and naked church whom the Lord counsels, by his prophet, to come to Him to buy the eyesalve, the gold, and the garments of his righteousness. We, as a people, embraced in our selfishness the hateful gain, till we have become insensible of the magnitude of the crime in the eyes of the Lord of Hosts. But there are, among this people, those who have anointed eyes, who see these things measurably as the Lord God Almighty sees them; and it is in the authority of that transcendant light, that the President of these United States is warned, the Congress is warned, and the people are warned, that the voice of God is in the thunder of the booming cannon around them, in the death-cry of their noble and beautiful brave ones, from the field of battle, from desolate marts of business and overthrown palaces of pride, saying, "Let my oppressed people go, that they may serve me, their only rightful Lord and Master."

Newport, R. I. S. L. L.

COLORED CITIZENS OF CANADA.

At the recent city election in Toronto, C. W., the colored citizens have borne quite a prominent part through the agency of lectures, public meetings, questioning of candidates, and activity at nominations and at the polls.

During a speech of William J. Watkins, Esq., of Rochester, N. Y., he referred to the Anderson case as having furnished the colored people with an admirable test to show them who were their friends, and the reverse. He showed that it was the opposition members of Parliament who had battled for the rights of humanity assailed in the person of the colored man Anderson, while the ministry and their supporters took a very different course—the Premier of the Government and the Chief Justice having done their part towards sending him back to be burned alive. As he saw a considerable number of the colored electors present, he should have something to say particularly to them, because he thought that they, he might almost say above all other people in the Province, ought to see to it that they occupied the right position, and that they gave no aid or comfort to the enemy. (Cheers.) The eye of the whole world was upon the colored men of the United States and of Canada, and it was their duty to take that course which would refute the absurd and wicked allegation of their natural, mental and moral inferiority. (Cheers.) These white men, said Mr. Watkins, cannot do that for us. You, Mr. President, cannot do it for us. The Hon. George Brown, with all his brilliant eloquence, cannot do it. We, colored men, must do it for ourselves. (Cheers.) The colored man must stand up before the nations, and prove by the development of all that is within him, that he is a man in every sense of the word. (Loud cheers.) They could not do this, if they committed suicide by voting aid and comfort to the enemy. (Cheers.) Mr. Watkins proceeded to complain that the colored citizens of Toronto had been most grossly misrepresented and libelled in a paragraph which had appeared in that morning's *Leader*.

An interesting correspondence between A. T. Augusta, M. B., a colored citizen, and Adam Wilson, Esq., was also published, relative to public questions involving rights of the colored people in Canada. N.

Washington, July 22.

Senate. The bill providing for the confiscation of the property of rebels in arms was taken up.

Mr. Trumbull offered an amendment, providing that any person held to service, employed in any way in aiding the rebellion, shall be forfeited.

Mr. Breckinridge called for the yeas and nays. Agreed to.

The amendment was agreed to—yeas 32; nays 6—Messrs. Breckinridge, Johnson of Missouri, Kennedy, Pearce, Polk and Powell.

The bill then passed.

House. Mr. Vandevere asked leave to offer a resolution that the maintenance of the Union and the preservation of the Constitution is a sacred trust which must be executed; that no disasters shall discourage us from the performance of this high duty, and we pledge the employment of every means for the suppression, overthrow and punishment of rebels now in arms.

Mr. Crittenden introduced his resolutions of last week, which passed. Messrs. Burnett of Ky., and Reid of Mo., voted against the first resolution, and Messrs. Potter of Wisconsin and Riddle of Ohio, against the remainder.

On motion of Mr. Train, of Mass., a resolution was adopted, tendering the thanks of the House to the Mass. 6th regiment, for their alacrity in responding to the call of the President, and their patriotism and bravery on the 19th of April, in fighting their way through Baltimore.

On motion of Mr. Campbell, a resolution was adopted that the thanks of Congress be tendered to the 520 Pennsylvanians who passed through the mob at Baltimore, and reached Washington on the 18th of April.

Mr. Wright, of Penn., offered a resolution, declaring that the reverse of our army on the 21st at Bull's Run has in no manner impaired our ultimate success; that we love the Union and the Constitution; that it is dear to twenty millions of people; and calling on all loyal citizens to respond by furnishing men and money. Laid on the table.

Mr. Vandever's resolution was then taken up and passed.

Mr. Wickliffe, of Kentucky, offered a resolution, calling on the Secretary of War to inform the House whether the Southern Confederacy, or any State thereof, has in its military service any Indians, and if so, their number and tribe.

Mr. Eliot, of Massachusetts, objected, on the ground that we have no knowledge of a Southern Confederacy.

Mr. Lovejoy, of Illinois. Say rebels.

Mr. Wickliffe modified his resolution by saying the "so called Southern Confederacy."

Mr. Dunn moved to extend the inquiry to negroes.

Mr. Wickliffe. I have not been informed that they have negroes in service.

Mr. Dunn. I have; and they shot down our men yesterday.

Mr. Dunn's amendment was adopted.

The resolution then passed.

In the House, on Tuesday, Mr. Burnett of Ky. said he had seen niggers in uniform, with rifles, bayonets and revolvers.

Mr. Lovejoy. Did not niggers aid Gen. Jackson at New Orleans?

Mr. Burnett. I am aware of that. I understand that you are not opposed to their fighting.

Mr. Lovejoy. I am for employing any muscle that can fight. (Laughter.)

THE FIRST GENERAL ENGAGEMENT!

The Conflict Desperately Contested — Great Losses on both sides—Defeat of the Federal Troops — Retreat towards Washington, panic stricken, with great loss of cannon, wagons, and other appurtenances — Reorganization and vast augmentation of the army — General McClelland called to its command — &c., &c.

Washington, July 21. A most severe battle was fought to-day at Bull's Run bridge. The conflict was desperate, lasting nine hours. The programme, as stated in our first dispatch, was carried out, until our troops met with a succession of masked batteries, which were attacked with vigor and success, after a severe loss of life.

Our troops advanced as follows: Col. Richardson, who distinguished himself in the previous engagement, proceeded on the left with four regiments of the 4th brigade, to hold the battery on the hill on the Warrington road, in the vicinity of the place where the last battle was fought. The flank movements were described in our first dispatch.

Gen. Schenck's and Sherman's brigades, of Gen. Tyler's column, advanced by the Warrenton road, while Heintzleman's and Hunter's division took the fork of the Warrenton road to move between Bull's Run and Manassas Junction. Keyes' brigade remained at Centreville.

Information was received by Gen. Tyler's command of the existence of the enemy's battery commanding the road, and our troops formed in order of battle array. The 2d New York and 1st Ohio on the left, and the 2d Ohio and 2d Wisconsin, and 79th, 13th and 69th New York on the right. Col. Miles' division followed in the rear.

The first range gun was fired by Sherman's battery at ten minutes to seven. The rebels did not return his shot until an hour and a half afterwards. When Hunter's division came up, the battle became general. Col. Hunter's movement to gain the rear was almost a success. The enemy's position was opened on by Carlisle's howitzers, followed by slight skirmishing. The rebels rapidly received reinforcements from Manassas after the attack opened.

The battle consisted in a succession of fires from masked batteries which opened in every direction. When one was silenced, its place was supplied by two, and in the daring charges of our infantry in unmasking them.

The 2d Ohio and 2d New York Regiments were marched by flank through the woods by a new made road within a mile of the main road, when they came upon a battery of eight guns, with four regiments flanked in the rear. Our men were immediately ordered to lie down on either side of the road in order to allow two pieces of artillery to pass through and attack the work, when this battery opened upon us, and killed on the third round Lieut. Dempsey, of Co. G, New York 2d, and Wm. Maxwell and a drummer, and seriously wounding several others. Our troops were kept for fifteen or twenty minutes under a galling fire, not being able to exchange shot with the enemy, although within a stone's throw of their batteries, they succeeding in retiring in regular order, and with their battery.

The most gallant charge of the day was made by the New York 69th, 79th and 13th, who rushed upon one battery, firing as they proceeded, with perfect eclat, and attacking it at the point of the bayonet. Their yell of triumph seemed to carry all before it. They found the rebels had abandoned the battery, and only taken one gun, but this success was only acquired after a severe loss of life, in which the 69th most severely suffered, and it was reported that Col. Nugent was among the first killed.

The Zouaves also distinguished themselves by spirited assaults on batteries at the point of the bayonet, but it is feared their loss is immense.

A Mississippi soldier was taken prisoner by Hasbrouck of the 2d Wisconsin regiment. He turned out to be Brigadier Quartermaster Pryor, cousin to Roger A. Pryor. He was captured with his horse, as he by accident rode into our lines. He discovered himself by remarking to Hasbrouck, "We are getting badly cut to pieces." "What regiment do you belong to?" asked Hasbrouck. "The 19th Mississippi," was the answer. "Then you are my prisoner," said Hasbrouck.

From the statement of this prisoner, it appears that our artillery has created great havoc among the rebels, of whom there are 30,000 to 40,000 in the field, under command of Gen. Beauregard, while they have a reserve of 75,000 at the Junction. He describes an officer most prominent in the fight, and distinguished from the rest by his white horse, as Jeff. Davis.

He confirms previous reports of a regiment of negro troops in the rebel forces, but says it is difficult to get them into proper discipline and fit for battle.

The position of the enemy extended in three lines in the form of a triangle, the apex fronting the centre of our column. The area seems to have been filled with masked batteries.

An escaped Connecticut man states that on Thursday, when the Massachusetts First were extended to the left of the enemy's entrenchments, both were unaware of the other's presence, but on discovery the rebels sprung to arms, somebody crying out, "Hold!" The rebels inquired who are you? In response to the Massachusetts First, the rebels replied, "Damn you, you are just the men we want to shoot," and then fired.

One man [Lieut. Smith] received a number of balls, fell dead and rolled into their entrenchments, where the victors hacked him to pieces with sabres.

They battered one or two others over their heads and faces with the butts of their muskets, and there is now one in the hospital with his face cut to pieces in this manner.

Lieut. Col. J. J. Porter, with a flag of truce, was fired on by the rebels, while endeavoring to obtain the body of Lieut. Smith, of the 1st Massachusetts Regiment.

It is reported that Ellsworth's Zouaves met the Louisiana Zouaves, and routed them, and took their colors; also that the 69th New York Regiment stripped to the skin, except pants, and pitched into the fight regardless of fatigue or personal safety.

The editor of the New York *Times* telegraphs from Centreville, dating his dispatch Washington, midnight. He says the battle was one of the severest ever fought on this continent.

Up to two o'clock our troops had driven the enemy through a distance of two miles, and are now in possession of the field of battle. The enemy fell back from one position on another equally strong, and every point was freshly reinforced. Their force certainly doubled ours.

The Fire Zouaves were terribly cut up. While drawn up to make the attack, they were assailed by a masked battery with a strong support on their flank, and forced to break.

A Louisiana Zouave after boasting that our wounded had all their throats cut, and no quarter shown, was quickly dangling in the air.

At last accounts the rebels were ransacking the bodies of our dead.

When Col. Burnside fell from his killed horse, a dying rebel officer told him that they had 90,000 men within forty minutes' call of Manassas Junction.

Only two of the Massachusetts 1st were killed—Lieut. Gill, of Company I, and a private.

Government has telegraphed to Massachusetts for 5000 men, and to New York for 5000.

Col Kimball, of the 2d Maine, and Col. Wood, of the Brooklyn 14th, the *Tribune* says, were killed.

Col. Lawrence, of the Massachusetts Fifth, was very severely wounded.

It is believed that Hon. Mr. Ely, of New York, was captured by the rebels.

The returned soldiers are perfectly worn out. Many of them state that they went to the battle-field after breakfasting, and were all engaged at the same time, while the rebel strength was supplied with fresh forces.

The whole battle was on the centre column, and within the radius of a mile.

The men marched on the battle-field after a fatiguing march of nine hours, and immediately on the enemy.

The enemy's batteries and infantry were all concealed, which made it exceedingly difficult for our men, as they were moving steadily forward. They could not see the enemy, and consequently could not direct their fire with a telling result, as they could have done had they been in an open field.

The army while in retreat was compelled to leave behind a large amount of provisions, ammunition, and about forty army wagons, which fell into the hands of the rebels.

A private dispatch, dated Washington, via Baltimore, July 22d, says: Have spent eight hours questioning returned soldiers. Our loss is less severe than at first reported—probably not 300 killed, perhaps not 200. For example, the 2d Connecticut regiment were reported badly cut up—they lost but six. The New Haven Grays have all returned unharmed; yet this regiment was exposed to frequent volleys of cannon and musket. Again, two hundred Fire Zouaves were reported to have been surrounded in the road, and annihilated by the Black Horse Cavalry; on the contrary, they cut down, and destroyed the cavalry with but little loss to themselves. The 71st New York regiment suffered a little, and so of others. Few of the balls fired by the rebels took effect; on the contrary, in all instances detailed by our men show that the enemy suffered severely. Three Fire Zouaves, scouting in advance, killed 26 rebels. The 71st New York regiment came upon a rifled gun and lost eight men, but killed the whole eighteen rebels secreted.

Capt. Downey was wounded on the field, and his body was afterwards found literally cut to pieces. It was cut into four quarters.

A Zouave who was taken prisoner with six others, and who subsequently effected an escape, arrived at Washington Tuesday night with a broken handcuff on one wrist. He reports that the Zouaves were treated with Indian barbarity by the rebels, many being pinioned to trees, and tormented with bayonets thrust at them.

It is stated that a private of the 1st Connecticut regiment lifted and carried a wounded rebel to a shady spot, and gave him drink from his canteen, which revived the rebel, who drew his pistol and shot his benefactor dead; also that a troop of rebel cavalry deliberately fired into a number of the wounded; also that the rebels had taken the bayonets and knives of our dead and wounded, and thrust them into their hearts, leaving them sticking there; and that the Louisiana Zouaves amused themselves by kicking the heads they cut off as foot-balls.

The rebels carried American flags during the fight, and when small squads of our troops approached, they fired on them. The rebel sharp-shooters were seen to pick off two vivandieres while dealing out water, and also shot at the ambulances and hospitals.

The number of killed, wounded and missing in the Vermont 2d is less than 50. This number will probably be lessened by detached men yet to report themselves. The regiment is in camp at their old quarters.

Lieut. Hobart Hitchcock, of the Maine corps, while gallantly engaged with a battery, was instantly killed by a shot from a rifled cannon. The number killed in the regiment is small. The wounded are doing well.

Col. Jamieson, the popular commander of the 2d Maine Regiment, was not killed in the late battle, as at first reported.

The loss of the New York 71st is not more than 50 killed and 160 wounded. This regiment was mustered out of the service to-day, their term having expired Sunday.

On the battle-field, balls were found of the pattern used in the English army, showing that the rebels use arms of English manufacture.

Ten prisoners were brought in to Washington by our cavalry, among whom was Lieut Boone. They are Georgians, North and South Carolinians, and Virginians.

Some batteries and single pieces of artillery, supposed to have been lost on Sunday, are being brought in safely. Among the pieces thus received are the 32-pounder rifled guns.

The entire loss in killed, wounded and missing of the Massachusetts 6th is stated at 25; the New York 14th at 100, and both the Ohio 1st and 2d at 40.

The Rhode Island battery was taken by the rebels at the bridge across Bull's Run, where their retreat was cur off. Their horses were all killed.

Gov. Sprague, who, during the day had exhibited the utmost coolness and bravery, spiked the Rhode Island pieces with his own hands. His horses head was shot off in the fight.

The Baltimore *American* says that for several days past immense quantities of munitions of war have been passing through Baltimore on their way to Washington. They consist in part of tents of the improved army style, horses, mostly from the West, boxes of the best Minie and Enfield muskets and rifles, ammunition of all kinds, and hospital stores.

Cairo, Ill., July 23d. At Memphis the loss of the rebels at Manassas is estimated at 3000.

Detroit, July 23d. A private dispatch from Manassas, via Richmond, says Col. Wilcox is there a prisoner, slightly wounded.

A large number of our troops on their retreat fell by the wayside from exhaustion, and were scattered along the entire route all the way from Fairfax Court House. The road from Bull's Run to Centreville was strewed with knapsacks, arms, &c. Some of our troops deliberately threw away their guns and appurtenances, the better to facilitate their travel.

Washington, July 22d. Among the number killed was Lieut. Col. Fowler of the New York 14th regiment. Wounded—Col. Lawrence of the Massachusetts 5th, Capt. Ellis of the New York 71st.

Col. Farnham and Major Lazier of the Zouaves were not killed, but badly wounded.

General McClellan has been summoned by the government from Western Virginia, to repair to Washington and take command of the army of the Potomac. General Rosencrantz takes his place in command of the army of Western Virginia.

The *corps d'armee* at Washington is to be instantly reorganized and increased. The orders have already been given. Offers of regiments already raised and being made, will be accepted with such rapidity as to insure that this will be accomplished.

New York, July 23. The *Post* gives the statement of a spectator of the battle, to the effect that the single cause of the panic was the charge of a large body of rebel cavalry among the teamsters and straggling soldiers, who were in the rear of our forces between Bull's Run and Centreville. This charge started the notion that our army had been overwhelmed, and that the enemy was driving in force on our reserves. Immediately the unarmed teamsters ran and spread the alarm at Centreville, when the order was given for a retreat. All the organized companies withdrew in perfect order. When Gen. McDowell found his reserve was retreating, it was too late to correct the mistake, and he commanded the main body to fall back, which it did quietly and in good order.

The men had been fighting all day without water or food, and were completely exhausted. They would have been called back from active service in a short time, even if the panic had not occurred. From the beginning to the end, not a soldier flinched, and an Englishman who was present, and who had been in all the Crimean battles, said such charges as the Fire Zouaves and the 69th regiment made he did not see at Inkerman or at Alma. The loss of the Zouaves is now stated at 160.

New York, July 23d. Our losses have been greatly exaggerated. It is now well ascertained that the killed fell short of 1000.

The rebels did not follow our retreating forces after passing Bull's Run.

Col. Ernstein, of the Pennsylvania 26th, returned to the field of battle 11 o'clock Sunday night and brought off six pieces of artillery, which he delivered to the commanding officer on the Potomac last evening. He reports the field clear, and not an enemy in sight.

The President and Secretary of War are vigorously at work re-organizing a powerful army.

Within the last 24 hours over 60,000 fresh men, with a number of batteries of artillery, have been accepted. A number of regiments have arrived, and every day will bring immense reinforcements to the National Capitol. Ten new regiments will be in Baltimore by evening. The response from every quarter has been most gratifying, and truly patriotic.

New York, July 22. A special despatch to the *Herald*, from Baltimore, says the 13th New York regiment have tendered their services to the government for three years. Their time of service expires shortly. The 18th Penn. regiment will also reenlist. Gen. Dix assumes command to-morrow. General Banks leaves for Patterson's column in the morning. The city is greatly excited, the secessionists being overjoyed.

The Unionists of Baltimore very generally attribute the repulse of the Union forces to the inactivity of Gen. Patterson, who, it is reported, was a dozen times officially telegraphed to engage Gen. Johnston at any odds on Sunday.

In all, about thirty arrests have been made for attempts to incite riots, all in the central districts, and none in the south, eastern or western districts. The Union men declared that they would rather see their own property destroyed and the city reduced by Gen. Banks's batteries, than have Jeff. Davis's forces occupy the city. All was quiet at the close of the despatch.

War Meeting in Providence.—*Providence, July 23d.* A large and spirited public meeting was held in Market Square this morning to express the determination of Rhode Island to redouble its exertions in behalf of the Government. Mayor Knight presided.

Eloquent speeches were made by Hon. L. A. Jenckes, Rev. Dr. Sears, Hon. C. A. Updike, Rev. Dr. Caswell, Bishop Clark, Bishop McFarland, A. Payne, Ex-Governor Hoppin, Hon. Thomas Davis, P. A. Sennot, Dr. Wayland, Ex-Mayor Rodman, Rev. Dr. Hall, Rev. Mr. Keyser, and Gov. Arnold.

Sherman's Battery Safe. Lieutenant Noyes, of Sherman's Battery, has sent a dispatch to his father, residing in Chelsea, Mass., that the battery is all safe. Its capture by the rebels had been reported.

Ammunition for Washington. An immense train, freighted with 200 tons of powder and 1,000,000 cartridges, left Watertown at an early hour this morning, by the Western Railroad, for the seat of war.—*Boston Traveller, 23d.*

☞ Gen. Scott has sent a dispatch to Gov. Fairbanks, to hasten on the Third Vermont Regiment, and it will start from St. Johnsbury for Washington on Wednesday, via Springfield and New Haven.

Large reinforcements from various districts are already on their way to Washington, orders for them having been telegraphed yesterday, while the battle was progressing.

Kansas City, July 22. On the 18th, Major Van Horn's command, numbering about 100 men, were attacked by 500 rebels under Capt. Duncan, three miles north of Harrisonville. The fight lasted four hours, when the rebels withdrew. The loss of the rebels was fourteen killed, including two officers, and several wounded. Our loss was one killed.

St. Charles, Mo., July 22. The report is confirmed that Colonel Ben Sharpe of Montgomery county, and Lieutenant Jaeger of the federal troops, were wounded by the rebels, and subsequently hung.

Fortress Monroe, July 22d. Mr. Whitney, Quartermaster Sergeant of the Vermont Regiment, was shot this morning by the rebels at Newport News, only a short distance from the Camp, while searching for a stray bullock. The body was pierced with half a dozen bullets.

An infernal machine, intended to blow up some of the ships of war in the Roads, washed ashore this morning, within a few rods of Floyd's house. It is of an ingenious construction, and is the second attempt of this kind.

The Privateer Jeff. Davis Loses One of Her Prizes.—*New York, July 21st.* Schooner J. S. Waring, captured by the privateer Jeff. Davis, arrived here on the night of the 16th. When 50 miles south of Charleston, the steward, William Tillman, colored, killed three of the prize crew with a hatchet. The other two were released on promising to assist in working the vessel. Their names are James Milnor, of South Carolina, and James Daisett, of New Jersey. Tillman, with the aid of the crew, except one named Donald McLeod, who refused to assist in recapturing the vessel, were brought to this port.

The brig Cuba, which was captured by the privateer Sumter, and retaken by Capt. Strout and crew from the prize crew, arrived to-day. The prize crew made a desperate resistance.

St. Louis, July 22. Ten wagons, laden with eighty-five men, women and children, arrived last night from Texas county, Missouri, who were driven from their homes by Secessionists.

☞ Columbia College has conferred the title of LL. D. upon President Lincoln.

CONTRIBUTIONS

To the Anti-Slavery Pic Nic at Rochester, N. Y., July 4.

Mary B. F. Curtis	$5 00	Benjamin Fish	1 00
Mary S. Anthony	4 00	Ottilia Assing	1 00
John E. Robinson	2 00	W. S. Falls	1 00
Isaac and Amy Post	5 00	C. D. Tracy & Co.	1 00
Susan B. Anthony	6 00	W. J. Fowler	2 00
Isaac Willis	2 00	Elias and Rhoda D. Garmo	1 00
G. G. Clarkson	2 00	Maria J. Porter	0 50
Sarah L. Willis	0 50	S. Porter	1 00
Albert C. Fish	1 00	Ass Anthony	0 50
Sam'l Wilder	1 00	General Collection	14 02
J. Bower	1 00		
C. S. Wilbur	0 50		$55 02
Jacob K. Post	1 00		
Phebe Cornell	1 00		

☞ WM. WELLS BROWN will speak at Quaker Hill Grove, South Foxboro', on Sunday next, July 28, at half-past 5 o'clock, P. M., on the Present Crisis and its connection with the Slave.

☞ A. T. FOSS will speak at
East Dennis, Sunday, July 28.

☞ MERCY B. JACKSON, M. D., having had fifteen years' experience in the Homœopathic treatment of diseases, offers her professional services to the Ladies and Children of Boston and vicinity.

References.—David Thayer, M. D.; Luther Clark, M. D.; John M. Tarball, M. D., Boston. Eliphalet Clark, M. D., Portland, Me.

Poetry.

For the Liberator.

TRIBUTE TO A DEPARTED FRIEND,

From one who knew her from childhood.

She is gone! yes, gone forever,
From the friends who loved her well;
Passed through Death's mysterious portal,
In the summer land to dwell!

We shall miss her gentle presence,—
Miss her tender, helpful hand;
Miss the blessings that she scattered
Through each little household band.

But if God, in years long vanished,
Thus had taken her away,
Keener far had been our anguish
Than the pangs we feel to-day.

For, though still life's morning freshness
Bloomed unfaded in her heart,
Mid the chequered lot of mortals
Hers had been the sufferer's part.

And we feel that Love Eternal
Has erased each weary pain,
And that, clothed in bloom immortal,
She has won sweet health again.

And her free and happy spirit,—
Here so patient, true and kind,—
There, a wider field of action,
Nobler work of love will find.

Upward, then, may Faith point, ever,
To her life in that bright land,
And sweetly sing of God's uniting
There, again, our broken band!

Ashwood, June, 1861.

From the New York Independent.

COMPROMISE.

Inscribed to the Congress of the United States, assembled in Extra Session, July 4, 1861.

BY EDNA DEAN PROCTOR.

Compromise? who dares to speak it
On the nation's hallowed Day,
When the air with thunder echoes,
And the rocket-lightnings play?
Compromise? while on the dial
Liberty goes ages back—
Scourged and bound, for our denial,
Firmer to the despot's rack?

Compromise? while angels tremble
As we falter in the race?
Cringe, and flatter, and dissemble—
We! who hold such royal place?
Compromise? It suits the craven!
Has our valor stooped so low?
Have we lost our ancient ardor
Face to face to meet the foe?

Compromise is Treason's ally,
Traitor's refuge, coward's raid;
All the wrongs that Justice suffers
Flourish in its deadly shade.
Compromise is base undoing
Of the deeds our Fathers wrought—
They, for Right and Freedom suing—
We, disdaining what they bought.

No! by all the Mayflower's peril
On the wild and wintry sea;
By the Pilgrim's prayer ascending
As he knelt with reverent knee;
By that fairest day of summer
When the tried, the true, the brave,
Name and life and sacred honor
To the Roll of Freedom gave;

By the tears, the march, the battle,
Where the noble, fearless died—
Wild around the cannon's rattle,
Waiting angels at their side—
By our children's golden future,
By our fathers' stainless shield,
That which God and heroes left us
We will never, never yield!

Hear it! ye who sit in council,
We, the People, tell you so!
Will you venture "Yes" to whisper
When the millions thunder "No"?
Will you sell the nation's birthright,
Heritage of toil and pain,
While a cry of shame and vengeance
Rings from Oregon to Maine?

Compromise—then Separation—
Such the order of the two;
Who admits the first temptation,
Has the second's work to do.
Compromise—the sultry silence—
Separation—whirlwind power!
For a moment's baleful quiet,
Will you risk that rending hour?

Who would sail the Mississippi?
Who the mountain ranges hold?
Win Ohio's fertile borders?
Sacramento's sands of gold?
Whose would be our banner's glory?
Who the eagle's flight would claim?
Whose our old, illustrious story,
Patriot graves, and fields of fame?

Compromise—we scorn the offer!
Separation—we defy;
"Firm, and free, and one forever!"
Thus the People make reply.
"Death to every form of treason,
In the Senate, on the field"—
While the chorus swells and echoes,
"WE WILL NEVER, NEVER YIELD."

IN THE RIGHT BE STRONG.

Go boldly forth, and fear no ill,
When fierce opposers rise;
Let mental strength, abounding still,
Such puny foes despise.
Though stung with many a bitter word,
And persecuted long,
Yet let them pass as if unheard,
And in the right be strong!

II.

The noblest causes ever known
Have met with scoff and jeer;
The brave, though journeying alone,
Should never yield to fear.
Go onward—up the rugged steep,
Beyond the lagging throng;
Thy own heart's counsel wisely keep,
And in the right be strong!

III.

Although grown weary, strive not less,
Nor duty leave undone;
Soon will opposers join to bless
The deeds thy daring won.
The strife once over, then will earth
Send forth her sweetest song,
To laud and bless the noble worth
That in the right was strong.

V.

Have faith—have courage—never fear—
The promise is in sight;
The lamp of Truth is shining clear,
To banish Error's night.
Though trials gather thick and fast,
And all the world be wrong,
Onward, still onward, to the last,
And in the right be strong!

LOVE.

God gives us love. Something to love
He lends us: but when love is grown
To ripeness, that on which it throve
Falls off, and love is left alone.—*Tennyson.*

The Liberator.

A GOLDEN WEDDING.

The Golden Wedding of JAMES and LUCRETIA MOTT was celebrated at their residence, Roadside, Chilton Hill, near Philadelphia, on the 10th of April, 1861. The occasion was one of rare interest. Surrounded by their numerous descendants of three generations, and the central attraction of a large assembly of relatives and friends who had gathered in honor of the day, our venerable friends presented a picture of beautiful old age, which thrilled the hearts, and impressed itself indelibly on the memory, of those who had the privilege of witnessing it.

Of the one hundred and twenty-five persons who, fifty years before, had signed their marriage certificate, twenty were still living, three of whom were present. That venerable document was produced, and examined with interest; and the guests desired, and were permitted, the privilege of endorsing it with the following testimonial, to which they appended their names:

"*James and Lucretia Mott, having completed fifty years of married life, we, the undersigned, assembled on this tenth day of April, 1861, to celebrate their Golden Wedding, joyfully record here our names in loving and respectful tribute to them who have given to us, and to the world, another illustration of the beauty and glory of true marriage.*"

Among the pleasant and appropriate poetical contributions on the occasion were the following:—

TO JAMES AND LUCRETIA MOTT,

ON THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THEIR MARRIAGE.

Fifty years of joy and sorrow!
Fifty years of toil and rest!
Sometimes fearing for the morrow,
Ever hoping for the best.

Side by side you 've walked together,
Fifty stages on Life's road;
To each other nearer growing,
And both nearer unto God.

Oh! how blest that Christian union,
Which the highest ties unite;
Where the sweet appeal is ever
To each other's sense of right!

Outward charms and outward graces
Win the love of early youth;
But the bond that lasts the longest
Is the mutual love of truth.

What a world of thought and feeling
Might these fifty years unfold!
Joys with which no stranger meddled,
Sorrows that were never told.

Faith in God, and in that Presence
Ne'er in manhood wholly lost,
Ever bore your spirits upward,
Whispered hope when tempest-tost.

Yet, not sad has been your pathway;
Not by storms have ye been driven,
When all other hope has failed you,
As a last resort, to Heaven.

But in gladness, and in sunshine,
In th' unbroken household band,
In the tie of friends and kindred,
Ye have seen God's loving hand.

And though Comfort, and her handmaid,
Simple Taste, have decked your home,
Never were your hearts unmindful
Of the suffering millions' moan.

Not as slaves, compelled to labor,—
Not as hirelings, seeking pay,—
But as free and willing workmen,
Ye have labored in your day.

Looking back to years long vanished,
Few the coming ones appear,
Ere the angel opes the portal
Leading to a higher sphere;

Where the joy of knowing—loving—
And imparting truth and good,
Oft in measure here dispensed you,
Still shall be the spirit's food.

In old story, where Elisha
At Elijah's mantle caught,
All the power of bright example
Is the lesson we are taught.

Thus, when all your work is ended,
In this earthly harvest-field,
Some will catch the falling mantle,
And their hearts to duty yield. S. M. P.

In years gone by, when you were young,
And times were good and olden,
When *copper weddings* never dream'd
Of turning into *golden*;
How little thought you of the joys
This day is gladly shedding
Around the autumn of your life—
Your happy "Golden Wedding"!

Happy—for the good are blest
In doing good to others,
In loving those who are distress'd,
And "all mankind as brothers";
Happy indeed—for He has made,
He who alone is able,
Your children, like the "olive plants,"
Around about your table. G. T. B.

LETTER FROM RICHARD D. WEBB.

DUBLIN, June 18, 1861.

DEAR MR. GARRISON: It is currently believed in these parts, that when an American statesman wishes "to make political capital," he picks a quarrel with England; and if he succeeds in making himself particularly disagreeable on our side of the water, he is sure to be a great favorite on his own. Nevertheless, we *were* surprised when we heard what an outcry was made in the United States by Lord John Russell's admission of the seceding States to the position of belligerents, and by the Queen's proclamation of neutrality. These measures seemed so inevitable and so reasonable, that we did not know what to make of the anger they excited. Whether the whites in the South number eight, nine, or ten millions, we do not know. At any rate, they are nearly three-fold more numerous than the thirteen original colonies when they revolted in 1776—and no matter what our opinion of them may be, we cannot hang them, even if we wished to try. They *are* belligerents, and must be admitted to be what they are. In England, people don't understand enough about the value of the Union to you to care much whether it continues or not. A war for its maintenance has nothing in it to stir our blood. The South appear to the English to be anxious for slavery pure and simple—while they suppose the North wishes for the Union and slavery together. When we read in the correspondence of the *Times* of the ferocious hatred with which Northern men are regarded by the slaveholders, and then meet with stories of fugitive slaves being sent back by Northern men to their bitterest enemies, how is it to be expected that we should look upon this as an anti-slavery war, or that we should be able to comprehend your delicate distinctions? I have always regarded this secession business as a sure, certain and speedy death-blow to the American slave system. Its power and its prestige are gone. No matter how indifferent multitudes of Northern men may be to its atrocity and its foolishness, as part of the social system of a free people, it never can again have their confidence and hearty support as heretofore. Notwithstanding this astonishing outburst of indignation against us, I am persuaded there is not one man in five hundred in the three kingdoms, who does not wish well to the North in the present struggle. Sympathy with the slave States and their objects is not whispered by any; and this is a pretty sure test of an honest public opinion in this country, where individual sentiment is expressed with much less danger from the anger of one's neighbors than is the case with you. It might be supposed that the danger to the cotton crop would be greatly felt in England. I have been amazed to remark how little concern is expressed about it. I believe it is generally known among those most concerned, that the world is wide, and that in India, in China and in Africa there may be obtained a supply a hundred fold greater than is required by our wants, if only sufficient means of transit to the respective ports of shipments be provided. Besides, it is known that in the chief cotton-producing districts of the slave States, the soil in the neighborhood of the great rivers and the readiest ports is being greatly deteriorated by the wasteful and destructive application of exhausting slave labor—and that, in consequence, the article produced has been rising in price, and must, before long, be undersold by the cotton of other countries. I have heard that the supply from India has doubled within a year, and we shall doubtless hear the same account from other countries. On the whole, England seems to be very much at her ease, and not to be at all in danger of giving up her dislike to slavery from the dread of a famine of cotton. The snappish, quarrelsome, insulting language of American politicians excites no fears, that I can perceive, nor any other emotion except amazement and some little indignant irritation at its extraordinary folly. Besides, it is the simple truth, that the wealth, strength and courage of England are prodigious, and she knows it so well, that it would take a great deal to frighten her. There is this important difference between the American and the English people—that amongst you, the disposition to go to war is far more active than with us. An English statesman who should evince a pugnacious disposition would at the present time (as for many years past) be sure to lose his popularity. War is known to be immensely expensive, and is not to be lightly undertaken. When it appears inevitable, no people fall to more heartily than the English, or spend their means with more cheerfulness to gain their point.

I have been amazed to find that even some Abolitionists think it possible that England is only hypocritically anti-slavery, after all. The English people are, by no means, Abolitionists after the fashion of Stephen Foster or Parker Pillsbury. They are not thoroughly principled, or deeply grounded, or well indoctrinated. They are apt to be somewhat conceited, on account of their ignorance of and indifference to theories of any kind. Still, they know they gave twenty millions sterling to abolish West India slavery, and they are of opinion that they did a good stroke of business then, and have got value for their money in reputation, and peace of mind, as well as in pounds, shillings and pence. They cannot comprehend a shuffling politician like Mr. Seward, or what the North has to gain from the South if slavery is not abolished.

Events march so rapidly on your side at present, that if, when this reaches you, it is out of date, I hope you will throw it into your waste-paper basket.

I heartily congratulate you on the near approach of the day for which you have so long, so ably, and so faithfully labored. It has been given to few men to do more for the benefit of their fellow-men, and this I am sure you feel to be an ample reward indeed.

Yours, ever,
RICHARD D. WEBB.

THE BATTLE OF IDEAS---THE BATTLE OF BULLETS.

ROCKLAND, (Me.) Sunday, July 14, 1861.

DEAR GARRISON: I came from Framingham on the 4th, directly to Maine. Have lectured three times in Union Centre, once in East Union, and once in Appleton; am to lecture twice in this place to-day; to be in Camden, Tuesday evening; to go to Belfast on Wednesday, the 17th, and to Monroe, to speak there, Sunday, the 21st.

This region has ever been the strong-hold of the Democratic party in Maine. It is wonderful to see how party lines are obliterated, in State and Church! One thought seems to animate all minds—the war, in defence of the government—and by this it is almost universally meant, war in defence of free labor, free schools, free thought, free speech, free soil, free institutions, free men and free women. Whatever demagogues may say about it, I am sure the great mass of the people in Maine, and all over the North, understand they are waging this war for liberty, and against slavery; for the declaration that "all men are created equal, and with an inalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

How can they think otherwise? Jeff. Davis, Stephens, Wigfall, Yancey, Toombs, Rhett, Mason, Tyler, and all who have forced this war upon us, have done it, solely, to sustain slavery and the slave trade. They all declare, in these words, that "SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE TRADE IS THE ONE IDEA THAT UNDERLIES THE SECESSION MOVEMENT." They have also declared that, "but for the support and perpetuity of slavery and the slave trade, they had no cause for secession and a separate confederacy." This being the sole cause of the war on the part of those who have forced it upon us, the people all see and feel that every blow aimed at the overthrow of the rebellion is aimed at the overthrow of slavery. As the President's Message says—"NO COMPROMISE CAN BE A CURE" for the war that is forced upon the North by the South. Slaveholders would not submit slavery and the slave trade to the decision obtained in the primary assemblies of the people and at the ballot-box—to that decision given on the great Battle-field of Ideas, where you and your co-laborers have been fighting for thirty years—but they have thrust upon the North a war of bullets, and will accept no decision, except that which is to be given on the battle-field of bayonets and bullets. The slaveholders had their choice—to settle the question of slavery by a battle of ideas, or a battle of bullets. This was the only alternative offered them by Nature and Nature's God. It must be settled by a war of thoughts or a war of swords. They chose the latter, and have appealed to the battle of bullets. And every body knows that this war of bullets, as well as the thirty years' war of ideas that preceded it, is undertaken, by the North, in effect, solely for Liberty, and against Slavery. The entire South so regard it. The masses in the North so regard it.

It is the universal sentiment of the nation, that the conflict between Liberty and Slavery can be decided only by a battle of bullets. I believe it can be truly and permanently settled only by a battle of ideas. Bullets may kill slaveholders, but an *idea*, alone, can kill slavery. Liberty, as an idea, is infinitely more potent than Liberty as a bullet. The idea is instinct with the life of God; the bullet is instinct with death to man. Liberty, as an idea, brings death to slavery, and life to the slaveholder; Liberty, as a bullet, carries death to the slaveholder, and life to slavery. The idea carries death to tyranny, and life to the tyrant; the sword carries death to the tyrant, and life to tyranny—for the sword is the basis of all tyranny; the bullet, the very corner-stone of slavery.

But the battle of bullets must soon end; the battle of ideas, never.

Yours, H. C. WRIGHT.

THE PEACE PRINCIPLE.

The peace principle is pure and holy, but can be practically realized only on its own plane. War, in the abstract, or *in itself considered*, whether offensive or defensive, *is an evil*. No cavil about this. So, too, pain and sickness are, *in the abstract*, an evil; and yet none the less beneficent in their purpose, as correctives for the violation of the laws of health.

Call slavery a *judgment* on the land—upon the North for its complicity with slavery. Slavery has forced war upon the country; and thus the North is chastised for being *particeps criminis*. But this chastisement is inseparable from what is now a duty—to wit, forcible resistance, as a dernier resort, to the absolute domination of the Slave Power.

I say the peace principle can be practically realized only on its own plane. War, though an evil *in itself*, may be reformatory; and, through the different stages of progress, tending to the plane of the peace principle, by teaching, as in the case of the present war, "the impossibility of oppressing the poor and the needy, or consenting thereto by entering into 'a covenant with death,' without desolating judgments following in the train." Such are the laws of progress. And the Supreme Intelligence being inseparable from its laws, this armed resistance to the domination of the Slave Power may be regarded as *providential*.

A. HOGEBOOM.

GEN. BUTLER'S CONTRABAND OF WAR.

PART I.

Contraband is derived from *contrabando*, a Spanish word, formed of contra, *against*, and bando, a *proclamation or law*. In a general sense, it means all goods imported or exported contrary to law. This is the contraband *of commerce*, and depends upon the regulations of each particular nation within its territorial jurisdiction.

Contraband *of war* comprehends such articles only as are used directly, and sometimes those which may be used indirectly, in carrying on war. Of the first class are arms, munitions, soldiers' uniforms, ships of war, etc.; of the second are saltpetre, chemicals for making fulminating powders, and, under some circumstances, provisions, money, ship-timber, naval stores, and, in general, any articles, destined for the military or naval use of an enemy, though susceptible of other uses.

These a nation at war may prevent neutrals from carrying to its enemies; and, if neutrals are caught in making such conveyance, they may be punished, either personally or by the confiscation of the hostile goods, together with the vessels or vehicles employed in their transportation.

This sort of restraint upon commerce with enemies is applicable to *neutrals alone*, and *depends wholly on the law of nations*. An enemy has a right to supply himself with all kinds of commodities in war as in peace; and the adverse party has an equal right to seize, if he can, and confiscate them, not as contraband of war, but as the property of an enemy. In the present case, it would also be the property of traitors, waging an unprovoked and unprincipled war against their unoffending and only too patient fellow-citizens, against their oaths of allegiance, and against the Constitution and laws they have concurred in making.

There is but one other party who can convey any thing to these enemies, and that is, a citizen of our own. By the laws of war, all traffic, contract, intercourse or correspondence between the enemies of a country and its citizens or subjects, is strictly forbidden. Hence all property of theirs, destined or in process to be transferred to the enemy, or property of the enemy destined to be transferred to our own citizens, is liable to capture and confiscation, not as contraband of war, but as enemy's property.

Such presumptuous, sordid and disloyal citizens, besides suffering such forfeiture, remain amenable to the laws of their country for high treason or misdemeanor, according to the nature and aggravation of the case.

For these reasons, *there can be no contraband of war between belligerents*, and it is immaterial whether the war be foreign or domestic. It follows that slaves cannot be taken under this title.

Is there any right arising from the state of war, by which, without violation of the Constitution or laws, we may capture or receive, employ or free them?

Slaves must be considered either as persons or property. Mr. Madison, in "The Federalist," maintains that they are both. On their personality he justifies the provision of the Constitution giving, on their account, to the slaveholders, a heavy additional representation in the national legislature and executive. Upon their chattelism is based the provision for hunting them as partridges, and requiring the people of the Free States, not to abstain like poor Englishmen from poaching, but to bag the game, and send it back to the lordly owner, when it flies from his warren!

The Constitution affects to deal with slaves as persons only. But it gives Congress the "power *to regulate commerce* with foreign nations, *between the several States*, and with the Indian tribes."

In exercising this power in behalf of the victims of the foreign slave trade, as Congress did the first moment that the Constitution untied their hands, they encountered no constitutional difficulty in treating them as a subject of *commerce*. No other idea appears to have been entertained or suggested on that occasion. But when the question of the power of Congress to prohibit the slave trade "between the several States" came before our Supreme Court, ("*supreme* in mischief,") it was discovered by that learned tribunal, that slaves being *named* in the Constitution as persons, cannot be considered, in a legal sense, as property, but as persons only; and inasmuch as persons cannot be a subject of *commerce*, they decreed that Congress have no authority to prohibit the *American* slave trade! They forgot, or did not pause to reflect, that under this construction, Congress could not have touched the foreign slave trade; and that our treaties with Great Britain for its suppression, and our fleets on the coast of Africa, would all be unconstitutional! Because the term "*foreign nations*" is annexed to *the same enabling words* as the term "*several States*." How the South would have yelled, if such an absurd and monstrous inconsequence had been committed *against* any interest of hers, or in favor of any interest of the *North!*

It does not, therefore, lie in the mouths of the slaveholders to object to viewing slaves as persons, as under that title they have enjoyed, in entire security, for more than twenty years, the lucrative luxury of slave-breeding, and a vast commerce in slaves. And if they do object, it is of no great consequence; for I do not in this discussion make it a paramount object to please and propitiate them, as would seem to be the case with many of the public servants entrusted with the administration of the government and the conduct of the war.

As persons, slaves stand in the same relation to an enemy conquering and occupying the country of their residence, as their masters do. It is a principle of the laws of war, perfectly settled and unquestioned, that *conquerors have the right, to the extent of their conquests, to establish such government and laws as they see fit, subject to the "higher law" alone.* It is true that they usually permit the civil laws of the vanquished to remain in force, and they do so remain as a matter of course, until expressly altered or abolished by the new sovereign. From this rule, however, is necessarily excepted that portion of the territory in the actual occupation, and the area of the operations, of the victorious armies. There, martial law invariably supersedes all constitutional and municipal law, so far as concerns the treatment of the vanquished. Indeed, distinguished jurists have suggested that martial law is as much a part of the common law as the law merchant, or parliamentary law. But, however it may be considered in this respect, its scope is confined to the hostile and the vanquished; except in the case of enemies and emissaries in our bosom, in which Congress, if it deems it necessary, may suspend the privilege of the *habeas corpus*, and thus give to the authorities, both civil and military, the power of restraining, at their discretion, all disloyal, dangerous or suspected persons.

In all the conquered territory, the orders and proclamations of the commanding generals, or of the sovereign power which they serve, are, for the time being, the supreme law; and, by the direction of that power, or with its approval, the commanders of armies may prescribe such changes, and initiate and consummate such reforms and measures of every kind, as they deem best for the satisfaction, security and indemnification of the conquering nation, for the interests of justice, peace and liberty, and for the general welfare of all concerned. They may dissolve the system of society which they find, and substitute any other which they deem more conducive to the improvement and happiness of the vanquished, and the peace and safety of the conquering people, and of mankind.

Thus the British nation, of which we were a part, in the war with the Pretender in 1745, totally abolished the patriarchal constitution of the *Highlanders*.

There was much that was painful, and some things unnecessarily harsh, in this radical and enforced reformation, yet the most enlightened statesmen and purest philanthropists of Scotland, as well as England and America, have recognized the great rebellion of the *Chevalier*, to restore his dynasty to the throne, as a providential dispensation, inasmuch as it afforded the United Kingdom a favorable opportunity, and the most effective means, of eliminating from its polity an incongruous and dangerous element.

The castles of the rebels were sacked and burned, cattle, provisions and other moveable property carried off, the inhabitants disarmed or pursued, and sternly shot down; the hereditary jurisdictions, services, customs and costumes of the clans, abolished; the traitor chiefs convicted, attainted and executed to the number of eighty or ninety for high treason, and the territory parcelled out in small leasehold estates to loyal, industrious and skilful cultivators. It was not even allowed to be sold, lest the rebel families should recover possession by purchase. The thoroughness and impartiality of the overthrow are evinced by the fact, that Lady Mackintosh, on a charge of treason, was subjected to imprisonment, and her moveable property carried off, although she was not brought to trial, and notwithstanding that *her husband was actually in the service of the government*. Of course, this was the use of the war power.

In 1797 Napoleon I., having beaten and neutralized the King of Sardinia, conquered Lombardy, and broken and driven from Italy the powerful armies of Austria, was occupied in pursuing the remnants thereof, and pushing his conquests toward Vienna—when the usurping oligarchy of Venice, called a Republic, but in reality one of the foulest and cruelest despotisms that ever oppressed a nation, or disgraced human nature, broke the peace with France, and stirred up insurrections in his rear. Thereupon he turned suddenly upon that accursed and effete aristocracy of assassins, and at one swoop swept them out. He substituted a democratic Republic for the ancient sham. This was the war power, and so far from being deemed a mistake or a reproach, it has always been considered lawful, just and beneficent; and celebrated among the honorable and redeeming traits of the great but too ambitious warrior and statesman, who did it. In crushing these insurrections, he thought it necessary to resort to military executions, as some of our Southern commanders did in the "war of pretexts," against poor distracted and unoffending Mexico!

In 1829–30, the French conquered a piratical and slave State, for centuries the scourge and opprobrium of the Christian nations both of Europe and America, who, through terror of its audacity and ferocity, had for centuries tolerated and even subsidized the blood and slave-hunting conspiracy against the human race. Its area was just equal to the island of Great Britain. Its chivalrous conquerors annihilated the government, dissolved the State, expunging its laws and social forms, its piracy and slavery; and substituting a polity to which the vanquished were strangers, and against which they entertained a mortal antipathy. One slap, dealt by the Dey of Algiers, in the face of a French consul, moved a mighty and Christian people to wipe out under the laws of war that detestable and too long endured "barbarism." What would not that victorious army have done, if they had had our cue to fight and exterminate? if not only their ministers of peace had been threatened with outrage and chased ignominiously away, but also thousands of their peaceable and unoffending fellow-citizens, travelling and sojourning under the sacred guaranties of oaths and compacts, had been horribly lacerated with whips, plundered, mutilated, hung by the neck, hung by the heels, to die slowly by torture, which tortures the imagination; coffined alive and cast into the sea, or tarred and then lit like a candle—for no offence except that they were *Frenchmen*, and would not consent to commit treason, and join in parricidal war against their country? It was among the most damning crimes of Nero that he crucified Christians with their heads downward, and daubed them over with combustibles to burn alive as lights in the night!

In the Revolutionary war, the British received some two thousand fugitives from Southern bondage, and never gave up one of them. With these refugees they peopled Sierra Leone, and the island of *Trinidad*. The descendants of those forlorn creatures, victims of a brutalizing system, are now the owners of about half the shipping and other property of that opulent island.

It is often cited as an illustrious example of an honorable peace, that the Roman victors imposed upon the Carthagenians, as a *sine qua non*, that they should abstain in future from human sacrifices to their God—*Moloch*.

From the foregoing principles and examples it results, that war and conquest, (supposing always the cause to be just,) confer upon the conquerors the right of making as they advance, and confirming in the conditions of peace, any change which they deem conducive to the good of society, in the political and social state and relations of their vanquished enemies; that they may level up and level down castes, orders and degrees; annihilate constitutions and governments, establish democratic Republics in lieu of Oligarchies, enfranchise the enslaved and abolish inhuman customs. And it follows further, that when the victorious armies withdraw, or while they are in possession, the sovereign nation whom they serve may abolish, alter, ordain and establish laws for any and all purposes, which to them may seem good, subject to the laws of God alone.

For it would be the height of iniquity and absurdity for a country, forced by cruel, wicked and unprovoked aggressions, to sacrifice tens of thousands of the lives of its sons, and hundreds of millions of their hard-earned treasure—to confer at once and without probation upon subdued traitors, all the political and personal liberties, immunities and privileges of brave, loyal and untainted citizens, thus capacitating them either to renew their treason and hostility, or to thwart by sharing and abusing those liberties and privileges, all wholesome and necessary measures of prudent and safe restraint, and *perhaps* of rehabilitation.

The Constitution of the United States imposes no necessity for such imbecility, absurdity and injustice. It does not extend *proprio vigore* over a conquered territory. That is an arch-heresy, which has too long survived its inventor, but cannot, it is hoped and believed, long survive its *late* distinguished advocate.

But whatever may betide in this respect, the slave, once freed by the war power, will be free forever.

Not only has our government a right to employ slaves, captured or escaped, in building fortifications, to enlist them in our armies, or let them go free under their protection, *but it is their positive duty to them and the country*, and they will be guilty of a high misdemeanor for which impeachment will lie for every case of neglect or refusal so to do. Suppose they should attempt to return a white refugee, who has had the good luck to escape hanging, burning or burying alive, and to reach Fortress Monroe, or the left bank of the Potomac, or city of New York—would any judge hesitate to issue a writ of *habeas corpus*, and this too with indignation at so daring and heartless a violation of law and justice, and to discharge the intended victim? The case of every black or brown refugee from the enemy is the same in law, and vastly more urgent in fact. *He* would go back to assured and inhuman torture or death. D. L. C.

AN AMERICAN CLERGYMAN IN ENGLAND. Rev. William Henry Channing, a nephew of the eminent Dr. Channing, is pastor of a church in Liverpool, England. The *Unitarian Journal* for the current month publishes a letter from him, dated May 18, from which we make this extract:—"In this day of our nation's trial, I wish to prove that unchangingly I keep the star-spangled banner nailed to the mast-head. Never was I so proud and glad to stand under that flag. But I can assure you that the past six months have been a dark time for a thorough-going American—as, thank God, I am, in every pulse, nerve and fibre—to be in a foreign land. I have had many a sore battle to fight; but all the better, for we have *won* them. Among them, I trust, is this business of the 'commissioners' from the 'Confederates.' A few weeks since, prospects looked black enough; but means have been taken to enlist the sympathies of members of Parliament, and to my certain knowledge, Yancey's infernal slave-trade scheme, &c., have been fully exhibited before the Government. If the perjured traitors are recognized, it will be a monstrous outrage: I tell them all that it will be a declaration of war against the Republic of the United States of America. Ah, how glorious this resurrection of our nation is! Europe fairly stands astonished at our resistless energy. Republicanism has sprung from an abyss of shame to a height of honor once more."

☞ Mr. Channing has since returned to Boston.

W. J. WATKINS ON THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

Mr. Watkins, last night, delivered a lecture in the Mechanics' Institute, upon the causes of the American Revolution and its ultimate results.

Mr. WATKINS, after an eloquent opening, said, there were certain men in the United States who tried to hide the real cause of the present struggle, but they could no more do it than whistle the tail off the comet. One man told us it was because Abraham Lincoln had been elected. But no one believed the assertion. It was a convenient pretext for secession; that was all. It was not Lincoln the Secessionists feared, but that all-controlling sentiment which battered down all opposition, and wafted him into the Presidential chair. It was this sentiment, which, like the blessed and invigorating sun-light, would ultimately dispel the darkness of slavery, and amid the hallelujah chorus of redeemed humanity drive it to its native hell. This the slaveholders understood well, and it was because they understood it that the rebellion had been commenced. (Cheers.) We were told by others, that the present state of things was but the natural sequence of Northern aggression upon the rights of the South. Admitting, for the sake of argument, that the Constitution was established for the purpose of securing slavery to the people and their posterity, he asked the question, what constitutional right has the North invaded? Not one. There never was a more causeless rebellion on the score of constitutional rights being invaded than the present. "Oh," but it was objected, "the Northern States have passed Personal Liberty Bills." But who suffered by the loss of slaves? The Border States. But did they inaugurate the war? No, it was South Carolina, who had not lost one slave in a thousand. In fact, the primary, and palpable, and real, and efficient, and only cause of the present war was the existence of that foul, black monster called slavery. (Cheers.) It might be intended by the Administration to fight simply for the preservation of the Union, but they were fighting in fact against slavery. Had there been no slavery, there would have been no rebellion. Having thus stated the cause, the lecturer next proceeded to consider the result of the present contest. It was his opinion that the Slave Power was to be humbled, to be dragged from its present elevated position, and driven into the valley of humiliation. It was bad enough to the South to be humbled at all; but to be humbled by Northern men intensified the humiliation. The North had everything to hope and nothing to fear from it. As a class, the Southerners were haughty and tyrannical. They were impressed with the idea that they were born to command, to lord it over God's heritage. Pride with them was a chronic disease, the prescription for which, written in plain English by Doctor Lincoln—400,000 men and $400,000,000—was likely to produce a most effectual cure, though the dose would doubtless be very nauseating. (Laughter.) The humiliation of the South the lecturer regarded as one of the most important results of the war. And he argued, in conclusion, that it would result in the downfall of slavery. The aid of the colored man was now refused by the President and his advisers, but he believed before the trouble was over they would be glad to accept the services of any man, whatever might be his color. Then he trusted the Administration would boldly proclaim this to be a war against slavery. "Meanwhile, let those who wished for the success of the Government, as every lover of liberty must do, lift their hearts and voices above the noise and strife of battle, and look unto Him who is mighty to save and standing to deliver; for he who is with us is stronger than all who are against us. 'Oppression shall not always reign; there comes a brighter day.' Sometimes the clouds hid the heavens, the lightnings flashed, we heard the thunders of war; we could not even get a glimpse of the blue vault above; but after all, 'God rides upon the whirlwind, and God directs the storm.'" (Loud applause.)—*Toronto Globe.*

THE VISION FULFILLED.

In the *Liberator* of March 10, 1857—four years and four months ago—we published an account of a remarkable spirit-manifestation, through a medium, in a neighboring city, purporting to have been made by the late N. P. Rogers and Professor Follen. Here is a portion of it, which finds its exact fulfilment in the present civil war now raging in the country:—

Charles Follen then indicated his presence by spelling out his name, and said he, too, had a message to Henry C. Wright. A test was called for—a test that might be unmistakably recognized. One of the mediums present directly became *cold*, and much agitated, shuddering greatly, and seemingly suffocating as one drowning, and said, "I am chilled through—but my head is on *fire*. I am dreadfully distressed." The chest heaved convulsively. "I am surrounded by *fire* and *water*." The extremities were cold as if life was indeed passing away. This state lasted but a short time, when the communication continued, the following questions being put, and answered mostly by alphabet:—

"Do you and your associate spirits interest yourselves in the present struggle between the North and South in regard to liberty and slavery?"

"Yes, most deeply we do—ever watching the Anti-Slavery movement with deepest interest."

"Can you tell the result of this conflict?"

"We can—the certain dissolution of the present slaveholding Union, the formation of a Northern Republic on the principle of 'No Union with Slaveholders,' and the abolition of slavery."

"How is this to be done?"

"ONLY BY BLOOD!"

At this point, one of the mediums saw, with the clearness of light, in a trance state, the fearful scene of conflict, and became greatly agitated—wept bitterly—threw up her arms, and exclaimed, "You have never seen A FIELD OF BLOOD! This is frightful! This influence must be removed, or I shall die." Soon a sound trance-like state succeeded, and the following was written with a pencil:—

"This vision shall surely be realized. Waves of desolation shall roll, in quick succession, over this devoted nation. They set at nought all the laws of justice, and defy the Supreme Judge of all the earth, and are filled with their own devices. They have drunken in iniquity like water. I WILL GIVE THEM BLOOD TO DRINK."

"Where will this bloody conflict be?"

"In Washington and the border States."

"Do you approve of this way of abolishing slavery and the Union?"

"There is no other way now left by which to abolish slavery but by BLOOD. The day of *peaceful* settlement of this question of slavery and the Union is past, no more to return. The responsibility of the blood that must flow must rest on those in Church and State, who, twenty years ago, had the power to forestall the fearful, bloody tragedy, but who were too busy in opposing and denouncing abolitionists to do it." The blood of the slave, and of those who shall fall in the conflict between the North and the South—between Liberty and Slavery—will be required at their hands."

This, in substance, and by far the most part in words, is what was given by Charles Follen to H. C. Wright. A presence filled the room while the above was being communicated, that deeply impressed, even to tears, those who were in the circle.

COFFEE AS A REMEDY FOR WHOOPING COUGH. In Dr. George D. Gibbs's work on whooping cough, published in London in 1854, he recommended strong coffee as a specific for the cure of this disease. We have tried it in several instances with marked effect. In one case, the patient was a little girl six years of age. There was not a single "whoop" after she began to take it. She took a table-spoonful and a half of very strong coffee, sweetened, but without milk, three times daily. A young child in the same family was well of the disease in three weeks; no other remedy was used in either case. In another instance, in which we have recently tried it, the same happy result followed, the "whooping" symptom being at once arrested, and the complaint coming to a speedy termination. It is difficult to fix the dose definitely, and this may account for the unsatisfactory result in one or two instances we have heard of, in which a small dose was given. Another important consideration which should not be lost sight of is, that three-quarters, probably, of what is drank for coffee, is made from nothing but peas or beans. The only sure method is to get the coffee berry itself, and have it burnt and ground under one's own eye. The decoction should be given as strong as possible, and in a quantity only short of enough to cause the unpleasant stimulating effects of this beverage. Children take it very readily. The last patient referred to above was only eighteen months old, and took once a day half a cup of coffee thus prepared, without the least noticeable injurious effect.—*Boston Medical Journal.*